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Beethoven Through Liszt: Myth, Performance, Edition

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Beethoven Through Liszt: Myth, Performance, Edition

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To my parents, Jen-Hsiang Wu and Su-Ying Lin

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The relationship between Franz Liszt and Ludwig van Beethoven has always held a special position in the biographical tradition of Liszt. Liszt claimed that he received a consecration kiss (the *Weihekuss*) from Beethoven when he was eleven. However, the story probably was fabricated: in other words, the personal relationship between Liszt and Beethoven was never realized and never existed.

Even though Beethoven and Liszt probably have never met, the *Weihekuss* still served as, in Liszt's words, "the palladium of my whole career as an artist." Liszt constructed a rather complicated relationship with Beethoven around this myth. In this study, I shall examine how the *Weihekuss* influenced both Liszt's life and his professional development as a performer and editor.

In chapter one, I will analyze Liszt's psychological state through the anecdote and further examine the impact that Beethoven had inserted on both Liszt's life and career.

On becoming a concert pianist, Liszt was the first person who performed Beethoven's piano sonatas in public and eventually elevated the genre of the sonata into the concert repertory. In chapter two, through eyewitness testimonies, Liszt will be

viewed in a broader cultural and historical perspective. Meanwhile, Liszt's relationship with his audiences and his marketing strategies will also be included in this discussion.

Liszt's "authority" on Beethoven led him to complete an edition of Beethoven's thirty-two piano sonatas in 1857. By examining Liszt's edition, particularly those sonatas that he performed, one can get a sense of how Liszt himself may have interpreted the music. According to Liszt himself, he performed ten Beethoven piano sonatas in public. These ten sonatas will be the primary focus in chapter three. Liszt both added and omitted articulation and pedal markings, creating different emphases and lines from those present in Beethoven's original manuscripts. The edition, in a sense, is Liszt's final tribute to Beethoven, but also reveals his constant disappointment in never having met the composer. To edit the sonatas was, for Liszt, a way to communicate with Beethoven spiritually, if not personally.

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CHAPTER 1: THE ETERNAL HERO

> The hero is one kindles a great light in the world, who sets up blazing touches in the dark streets of life for men to see by.
>
> Felix Adler (1851-1933)

One hundred years after Felix Adler offers his definition of hero, Erich Hertzmann seems to lament it, "Beethoven occupies a position of the greatest significance in the history of music: he completes one epoch and begins another and the music historians of the 19th and 20th centuries unanimously acknowledge his double rôle."[1] Beethoven's contribution casts a powerful spell on musicians who came after him. They were scarcely able to escape Beethoven's influence but called failures if they tried. In other words, Beethoven's posthumous influence mapped the direction of musical development of the nineteenth century.

For Liszt, Beethoven was more than a musical idol. The master was his personal hero and even a career guardian. His admiration and obsession with the master dominated his destiny. Allan Keiler states, "the figure and personality of Beethoven play a central role in the creative life of virtually all the great nineteenth-century Romantic composers. In the case of Liszt the influence was particularly strong; his dedication to Beethoven was revealed during most of his life and in a variety of ways."[2] Beethoven, far from generally guiding Liszt's career, provided Liszt with a personal road map. In this treatise, my discussion will focus on the relationship between Beethoven

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[1] Erich Hertzmann, "Beethoven: His Historical and Artistic Significance," trans. by Holland Rogers, *Tempo*, 35 (1955), 29. For a recent study on Beethoven's influence in music history, see Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995.)

[2] Allan Keiler, "Liszt and Beethoven: The Creation of a Personal Myth," *19th-Century Music*, 116.

and Liszt. I will evaluate this complicated relationship through the latter's psychological connection, public performances, and as an editor of the complete thirty-two Beethoven piano sonatas.

The famous *Weihekuss* serves as the core of this study. Liszt claimed to Ilka Horowitz-Barnay that, at age eleven, Czerny had brought him to Beethoven. After his performance for the master, he received a precious kiss on the forehead as an appreciation for his stunning talent. However, the story has several different versions, none of which can be proven. Although the meeting may never have taken place, it nevertheless leads us into Liszt's internal world. In chapter one, I will discuss how Beethoven becomes part of Liszt's life and how the earlier composer literally influenced the latter's career.

As a child prodigy, Liszt built his reputation as a concert pianist early. In the 1830s and '40s, his fame as a virtuoso had reached its height. He toured all over the European continent. Everywhere he went, he created a furor. According to Allsobrook, "[Liszt] then traveled more widely than any other musician, reinforcing his reputation, from St. Petersburg to Madrid, from Edinburgh to Constantinople."[3]

Even though Beethoven had the reputation as the leading composer, Beethoven's music was not enjoyed among the general audiences due to the musical culture at the time. According to Hertzmann, the historical and artistic recognition of a composer sometimes may not be the same. He continues, "a work of high artistic value can be quite unimportant from the standpoint of historical development and *vice versa*."[4] While Beethoven's genius had been widely recognized, his music, especially the late piano sonatas, was generally considered unrealistic and impossible to play.[5]

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[3] David Allsobrook, *Liszt: My Travelling Circus Life* (UK: The Macmillan Press Limited, 1991), 4.
[4] Hertzmann, "Significance," 29.
[5] K. M. Knittel, "Wagner, Deafness, and the Reception of Beethoven's Late Style," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 51 (1998), 49-82.

Liszt performed a wide range of music, from transcriptions and paraphrases of pre-existing works to “serious” Classical and Romantic pieces, in order to please his audiences. Paying homage to his personal hero, Liszt attempted to popularize Beethoven’s music as the master’s musical heir. He frequently performed Beethoven’s piano sonatas in concerts and was actively involved in many ways to promote Beethoven’s music. By doing so, Liszt became the most important promoter and interpreter of Beethoven’s compositions.

In chapter 2, I will attempt to construct Liszt as a performer and Beethoven interpreter through contemporary witness accounts. The descriptions provided by witnesses can give us first-hand information about Liszt’s concert appearances. Moreover, we will be given a glimpse of the impact that Liszt’s music asserted on his audiences. The discussion will also include Liszt’s strategic approaches to Beethoven’s music.

Over the years, Liszt had become an idol and inspiration for his fellow musicians. However, this did not satisfy Liszt’s ambition. His ultimate career goal was to be recognized as a true artist. In the mid-1840s, Liszt ceased his appearances on the public concert scene and settled in Weimar, where he worked as a court musician. The virtuoso now devoted more of his time and energy to composition, conducting, musical commentary, and education. Chapter 3 will focus on Liszt’s contribution as a pedagogue and editor through his edition of the complete Beethoven piano sonatas, which was published in 1857.

At this point, Liszt was still recognized as a concert virtuoso. His fame did not fade away with his disappearance from the public concert platform. Many young pianists were thus eager to study with Liszt and he subsequently became one of the most sought-after pedagogues of his time. Several prominent pianists in the late nineteenth

century, such as Karl Tausig, and Arthur Friedheim, were nurtured by him. Liszt's edition of Beethoven sonatas illustrates his teaching philosophy, his editorial manner of performance, and how he interpreted the pieces. Hans von Bülow, one of Liszt's most famous students, also edited and published the complete Beethoven piano sonatas fourteen years after Liszt's in Stuttgart by J. G. Cotta.[6] It is believed that Liszt's work influenced von Bülow's edition which, in turn, may help to explain Liszt's intentions in his own edition. Therefore, von Bülow's edition and the modern Henle edition will both serve as the comparative sources of this chapter.

According to Keiler, the *Weihekuss* had set the seal on Liszt's career, "predestining dedication to Beethoven's memory and music."[7] If this is so, then it is fair to say that the master served not only as an inspiration, but also a hero who lit up the career path for Liszt.

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[6] William Newman, "A chronological Checklist of Collected Editions of Beethoven's Solo Piano Sonatas Since His Own Day," *Notes*, 33 (1977), 516.

[7] Keiler, "Personal Myth," 128.

CHAPTER 2: LISZT'S MYTHICAL RELATIONASHIP WITH BEETHOVEN

THE FATEFUL ENCOUNTER

> "I was about eleven years of age when my venerated teacher Czerny took me to Beethoven. He had told the latter about me a long time before, and had begged him to listen to me play sometime. Yet Beethoven had such a repugnance to infant prodigies that he had always violently objected to receiving me. Finally, however, he allowed himself to be persuaded by the indefatigable Czerny, and in the end cried impatiently: "In God's name, then, bring me the young Turk!" It was ten o'clock in the morning when we entered the two small rooms in the Schwarzspanier house which Beethoven occupied, I somewhat shyly, Czerny amiably encouraging me. Beethoven was working at a long, narrow table by the window. He looked gloomily at us for a time, said a few brief words to Czerny, and remained silent when my teacher beckoned me to the piano. I first played a short piece by Ries. When I had finished, Beethoven asked me whether I could play a Bach fugue. I chose the C-minor Fugue from the Well-Tempered Clavier. "And could you also transpose the fugue at once into another key?" Beethoven asked me. Fortunately I was able to do so. After my closing chord I glanced up. The great master's darkly glowing gaze lay piercingly upon me. Yet suddenly a gentle smile passed over his gloomy features, and Beethoven came quite close to me, stooped down, put his hand on my head, and stroked my hair several times. "A devil of a fellow," he whispered, "a regular young Turk!" Suddenly I felt quite brave. "May I play something of yours now?" I boldly asked. Beethoven smiled and nodded. I played the first movement of the C-Major Concerto. When I had concluded Beethoven caught hold of me with both hands, kissed me on the forehead, and said gently: "Go! You are one of the fortunate ones! For you will give joy and happiness to many other people!! There is nothing better or finer!" Liszt told the preceding in the tone of deepest emotion, with tears in his eyes, and a warm note of happiness sounded in the simple tale. For a brief space he was silent, and then he said: "This event in my life has remained my greatest pride—the palladium of my whole career as an artist. I tell it but very seldom and only to good friends![8]

[8] Allan Walker, *Franz Liszt*, 3 vols. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), I: 83-84.

The above is a statement that Liszt made to a student, Ilka Horowitz-Barnay, in 1875. Liszt told Horowitz-Barnay the story of meeting Beethoven when he was only eleven years old and receiving a kiss on the forehead as a reward for a fine performance. The kiss is later referred to as the *Weihekuss*, meaning "kiss of consecration." The story is well-known and certainly occupies a significant position in both Liszt's career and life. Despite the vivid description of the meeting, however, the whole story is probably fabricated—Liszt probably never met Beethoven. According to K. M. Knittel, "the story is problematic from internal evidence alone: Beethoven did not live in the Schwarzspanierhaus in 1823, and it is unlikely that his hearing at that time was sufficient to know in what key Liszt was playing."[9] Allan Keiler, as well, attempts to verify the anecdote and argues that "the Conversation Books [of Beethoven] themselves make possible a reasonable hypothesis about such a meeting and [it] conflicts seriously with Horowitz-Barnay's account."[10] Moreover, the story exists in multiple versions that cannot be reconciled. Some written accounts suggest that the kiss actually took place at Liszt's farewell concert in Vienna in 1823; others suggest it happened at the meeting of the two at Beethoven's residence.

Alan Walker, in his comprehensive Liszt biography, attempts to provide explanations for this inadvertent confusion. First, Liszt never bothered to correct the mistaken information, thus creating the conflicting accounts himself. Moreover, Walker claims that two Liszt biographers, Lina Ramann (1833-1912) and Ludwig Nohl (1831-1885), are responsible for telescoping the two different occasions—the meeting at Beethoven's home and the farewell concert—into one event.[11] However, one can still

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[9] K. M. Knittel, "Pilgrimages to Beethoven: Reminiscences by His Contemporaries," *Music & Letters*, 84 (2003), 19.

[10] Allan Keiler, "Liszt Research and Walker's Liszt," *Musical Quarterly*, 70 (1984), 388. He, then, stated elsewhere that the myth is fabricated by Schindler and Liszt's biographers. See Keiler, "Personal Myth," 124.

[11] Walker, *Franz Liszt*, I: 81.

find several conflicts in Walker's account.

Beethoven's conversation books contain only short monologues written by others for the composer's benefit and provide no entries that indicate either that Beethoven attended Liszt's concert or that a meeting between the two actually happened. The information found in the conversation books is not sufficient to determine whether or not Liszt met Beethoven. Liszt's first biography, *Etude biographique*, was published in 1836 when he was only twenty-five years old. Joseph d'Ortigue wrote this biography based on the material provided by Liszt's mother, Anna, and Liszt's mistress, Countess Marie d'Agoult. D'Ortigue provides the earliest written account of Beethoven's presence at the farewell concert; however, there is no reference to a *Weihekuss*. Ludwig Rellstab, on the other hand, mentions both episodes in his biography of Liszt published in 1842, not only the presence of the master at the child pianist's concert, but also a meeting between Beethoven and Liszt prior to the concert. The biography written by Lina Ramann, from 1880 to 1894, is probably the first comprehensive study of Liszt's life. She spans nearly two decades interviewing and collecting materials directly from Liszt until the end of his life hence the patina of authenticity of the book. In Ramann's version, the young Liszt received the sacred kiss on the concert platform:

> When the boy stepped before the public, who looked up at him expectantly, head pressed against head, he perceived Beethoven near the platform, his earnest eye fixed meditatively upon him. Franz felt a startled joy, but the presence of the deified master did not bewilder him…when Franz had finished and surpassed all expectation his improvisation of a supposed theme, he scarcely knew what was going on; he was as in a dream. The audience crowded and pressed around him, and Beethoven had hastily mounted the platform and kissed him.[12]

[12] Lina Ramann, *Franz Liszt: Artist and Man 1811-1840*, trans. by Miss E. Cowdery, 2 vols., (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1882), I: 74-5.

The anecdote has become entrenched ever since.[13]

During his last years, Beethoven became more isolated from the public. Undoubtedly, his appearance at Liszt's farewell concert would have drawn great attention from the audience and the concert reviews. Rellstab stated, "[Beethoven] even attended the concert of the young virtuoso [Liszt]…which was something extremely rare, considering his complete seclusion and the sharper disposition of his nature."[14] However, no press reviews mention his presence. Walker is forced to acknowledge that "although the Viennese press reported the concert, there is not a single mention of Beethoven's presence, which, in his capacity as Europe's leading composer, would surely have been headline news."[15] To make the matters even more complicated, Liszt himself gives different versions of this "significant moment." For instance, When August Göllerich asked Liszt about the meeting with Beethoven, Liszt replied, "Beethoven appeared at my second concert in Vienna, for the sake of Czerny, and kissed me on the forehead. I never played at his house, but I was there twice."[16] This account obviously contradicts the story he told Horowitz-Barnay.

Although Liszt perhaps never met Beethoven, Beethoven still exerted a powerful influence on him. The "embrace" of Beethoven is so powerful that Liszt may have developed his entire career from it—it first motivated him to become a virtuoso pianist and later to metamorphosize himself into a composer who would create new genres and become a prominent music figure in the nineteenth century in his own right.[17] If

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13 Keiler, "Liszt Research," 388-93.

14 As quoted in Ibid., 392.

15 Allan Walker, review of, *Franz Liszt: Selected Letters*, ed. and trans, Adrian Williams (Oxford, 1998), *Music & Letters*, 81 (2000), 123.

16 As quoted in Keiler, "Liszt Research", 393.

17 Liszt is deeply involved in the event of unveiling Beethoven's monument at Bonn in August, 1845. He was not only the solo pianist of the performance of Beethoven's Piano Concerto, but also the composer and the conductor of the "Beethoven" cantata. Two years later, Liszt ceased his concert tours and concentrated on composing. He would not have become a significant figure in music history if he had never transformed himself from a virtuosic concert pianist into a composer.

invented, this story, nevertheless, represents Liszt's psychological situation. According to Keiler, "there is an internal world of personal and artistic myth, of unconscious identification and invention, in the make-up of the creative artist—this asserts itself in one way or another in the course of every biographical enterprise, and is hardly ever to be avoided."[18] Studying the anecdote in depth can help us to gain a better understanding of, first, Liszt's obsession with Beethoven; and, second, the development of Liszt's career; and, finally, Liszt's musicianship.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELATIONSHIP

According to Keiler, there are three distinct stages in this Liszt-Beethoven relationship. The first stage covers Liszt's early childhood, when the little child starts revealing his stunning talent. During this period, Beethoven is his idol and possibly a hero. The young boy used to point to Beethoven's picture hanging on the wall and claim to be "such [a] one."[19] Liszt's stay in Vienna from 1822-23 is included in the second stage. The second period did not even last for two years; however, it is the most influential time in Liszt's life—he received the sacred gift from the master. The last stage begins when the young Liszt and his father Adam arrived in Paris. It continues until the late 1830s when Liszt starts to fulfill the mission on behalf of Beethoven.[20] Before I focus my discussion on the second stage, I would like to briefly introduce both the historical and cultural background of this time.

Both Industrial and French Revolutions broke new ground during the eighteenth century and led Europe to a new direction. The musical culture was also changed. Machinery was the most important product of the Industrial Revolution. It was, in

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[18] Keiler, "Personal Myth," 116.
[19] Ramann, *Artist and Man*, I: 25.
[20] For more in-depth psychological discussion on the anecdote, see Keiler, "Personal Myth," 116-131.

Arthur Loesser's words, "a symbol of liberty, of man's freedom of thought and enterprise, of his overthrow of ancient inhibitions and prohibitions in his quest for mastery over nature."[21] Compared to the other music instruments, the piano is bigger, more intricate, and, largely mechanical. Numerous piano parts and intense labor were required to construct a single instrument. Therefore, the availability of the instrument was limited and inevitably expensive. The new technology provided an alternative solution to this situation. Machinery reduced production costs, sped up the manufacturing process, and eventually lowered the market price by as much as half. The traditional piano shops were gradually replaced by modernized piano factories. The piano had become much more affordable for middle-class families and this increased the popularity of the instrument. Moreover, after the French Revolution, the nobility was no longer the only class who had the privilege to make music in their homes. Having a piano at home and having the ability to play one symbolized the social and educational status of the family. Because of these innovations and changes, the piano "was the instrument of the time," Loesser states.[22]

Liszt's father, Adam, was his first piano teacher. According to Keiler, Adam's ability as a pianist was rather limited and unsystematically developed. He was a clerk in western Hungary for the Esterházy estates and an amateur musician who played various instruments. There are no records of him taking piano lessons or even owning a piano until 1810.[23] In the summer of 1819, Adam brought his talented son to Vienna. There, Adam and his son visited and played the piano for Czerny, who had established himself as one of the greatest piano pedagogues at the time. The visit is documented by Czerny

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[21] Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women, and Pianos: A Social History* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), 348.
[22] Ibid., 233.
[23] Keiler, "Personal Myth," 119-20.

in his autobiography:

> One morning in the year 1819, a short time after La Belleville had left us, a man with a small boy of about eight years approached me with a request to let the youngster play something on the fortepiano. He was a pale, sickly-looking child who, while playing, swayed about on the stool as if drunk, so that I often thought he would fall to the floor. His playing was also quite irregular, untidy, confused, and he had so little idea of fingering that he threw his fingers quite arbitrarily all over the keyboard. But that notwithstanding, I was astonished at the talent which Nature had bestowed on him.[24]

Czerny's description provides a vivid picture of the young Liszt's playing. Despite the amazing talent, Liszt had too much body movement, horrible fingerings, and confused musical ideas. It was clear to Czerny that Liszt's musicianship needed further discipline and nurturing. Czerny took Liszt as his pupil free of charge and gave him the systematic training that the youngster needed.

Liszt studied with Czerny for only eighteen months. According to Liszt himself, it was before he left for Paris when Czerny brought him to Beethoven. At this time, Beethoven was considered, in Vienna if not all of Europe, the leading composer. Admirers and fellow musicians from all over the world were eager to meet him, and to have connections with the master. There are more than one hundred reminiscences of meetings with Beethoven extant up to this day. Some of the stories have a similar plot form. First, all the visitors have the desire to meet Beethoven and express it one way or another. Before the dream comes true, they have to overcome obstacles in order to gain entrance. When they finally get to meet Beethoven, they present their works to or give a performance for the master. Eventually, they all receive positive feedback from

[24] Walker, *Franz Liszt*, I: 67.

Beethoven and, above all, a proof of intimacy.[25]

In Liszt's story, the dramatic elements existed even before the story started as Beethoven despised child prodigies. This makes the meeting between Beethoven and the eleven-year-old Liszt seem much more extraordinary. In addition, according to Knittel, "the desire to meet Beethoven is not actually [Liszt's] but rather Czerny's." Czerny is the one who had the desire to bring the young Liszt to visit and perform for Beethoven. Liszt does not show eagerness to meet his childhood hero. Czerny persuaded Beethoven who finally agreed to meet the youngster and cried, "In God's name, then, bring me the young Turk!"[26] Liszt never expressed his desire to visit Beethoven but gained his entrance effortlessly.

The *Weihekuss* is Liszt's proof of intimacy upon which he establishes his entire relationship with Beethoven. The "kiss of consecration" is a trophy he won from the legendary composer and his childhood hero. Among the numerous visitors, the young Liszt was not the only person who received a gift from Beethoven during the visit. However, he is possibly the only one whose gift involved a physical contact—a gift which seems to contradict the master's "supposedly antisocial behaviour."[27] A few days later, Liszt and his father, Adam, left for Paris. The father was eager to enroll the young Liszt in the Paris Conservatoire—the greatest music school in the world at the time—so the young man could advance to a performing career as quickly and smoothly as possible.

Paris had established itself as the intellectual and cultural center of Europe at the turn of the nineteenth century. As I mentioned earlier, the French Revolution shifted the musical economy in Europe. Because of the Revolution, the bourgeois became the primary sponsors of musical events. Different from the former royal musical sponsors,

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[25] Knittel, "Pilgrimages," 21-22.
[26] Ibid., 23-25.
[27] Ibid., 28.

these middle-class sponsors preferred to commission single works and employ musicians on a temporary basis. Meanwhile, the social status of the professional musicians was elevated. They came to be considered as artists rather than servants as in the past. It was no longer necessary for them to be hired at courts. They could be independent artists and composers, give lessons, perform in public, and even go on a performing tour.[28] The Paris Conservatoire, due to its reputation as the finest music school in Europe, attracted talented musicians and performers to Paris. Various musical activities flourished in every corner of the city and it had become a custom for Parisians to attend music concerts on a daily basis. No place other than Paris would seem more ideal for the young Liszt to build his virtuoso career.[29]

Walker states, "Liszt treasured the memory of the *Weihekuss* all his life. He himself said that it set the seal on his career."[30] In order to further understand how the *symbolic kiss* influenced Liszt's career, we have to also examine both the Liszt-Thalberg contest in 1837 and the Beethoven Memorial Festival in Bonn, 1845.

THE *HAMMERKLAVIER*: PARISIAN PREMIERE

The contest between Liszt and Thalberg is one of the most well-known and well-documented musical rivalries. In the 1830s, Liszt was already lionized as the leading virtuoso in Paris. His performances were stunning and unique. He offered the audience a different way of approaching the music and successfully placed himself in the Parisian limelight. His performance manner was often talked about. D'Ortigue once

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[28] Reinhard G. Pauly, *Music in the Classical Period*, 3rd ed. (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1965), 69-72.

[29] For further reference on the music scene in Paris during the early nineteenth century, see Jean Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism 1789-1830*, trans. by Sylvain Frémaux, (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1996); Jeffrey Cooper, *The Rise of Instrumental Music and Concert Series in Paris 1828-1871*, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1983); and Peter Bloom ed., *Music in Paris in the Eighteen-thirties* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1987).

[30] Walker, *Franz Liszt*, I: 85.

described Liszt's physical appearance while performing as follows:

> You must see him, his hair in the wind, launch his fingers from one end of the piano to the other...his fingers seem to elongate and withdraw as though on a spring and sometimes even to leave his hands. You must see him raise his sublime eyes to the ceiling as though looking for inspiration, then, bleakly, drop to the ground, his physiognomy radiant and inspired like that of a martyr who revels in the joys of his torture; that terrible look that he flashes sometimes on the listener, that exhilarates, fascinates and terrifies…you must see his nostrils swell to let the air escape from his chest in tumultuous waves like the nostrils of a warhorse flying on the plain.[31]

Evidently, Liszt provided both audible and visual pleasure to his audience while performing. His new and unique performance style could not help but offend some conservative music lovers. François-Joseph Fétis, a powerful French critic, claimed that "Liszt lost control of color and expression through bodily convulsions, and that he destroyed the intentions of the classical masters."[32] When Thalberg arrived and performed in Paris, his elegant performance style was extremely different from the one that Liszt exhibited and won the audience's support immediately.

Sigismond Thalberg was born in Switzerland and brought to Vienna at age ten. His first career interest was not in music. He went to a Polytechnic School and studied piano and composition in his leisure time. However, his extraordinary musical talent could not remain silent. His successful piano début at age fourteen launched his career as a concert pianist and virtuoso. In the winter of 1835, Thalberg arrived and performed in Paris. Parisian audiences all fell in love instantly with the tone he delivered.

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[31] As quoted in Kerry Murphy, "Liszt and Virtuosity in Paris in the 1830s: the Artist as Romantic Hero," *Essays in Honour of David Evatt Tunley*, ed. by Frank Callaway (Nedlands, West Australia: Callaway International Resource Centre for Music Education, The School of Music, The University of Western Australia, 1995), 98.

[32] As quoted in Dana Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt* (UK: Cambridge Press, 2004), 21.

According to Walker, "[Thalberg] possessed a quiet demeanour at the keyboard and produced his glittering technical effects while seeming to remain motionless."[33] Dana Gooley states, "Thalberg's vocality [singing tone]—his manner of sustaining the *chant* (both "song" and "voice") throughout a piece—gave his playing a character quite distinct from Liszt's."[34] Thalberg's "singing tone" successfully pleased the Parisians who enjoyed very much the "operatic singing voice."[35] Thalberg was unknown to Parisians before his arrival. Nevertheless, he soon created a furor and was hailed as "the first player in the world, the founder and proclaimer of a new era in pianoforte music" and became an immediate threat to Liszt's career.[36]

In May 1836, Liszt heard about this mysterious rivalry and returned to Paris from Switzerland to secure his reputation. He gave two recitals at the Erard salon. The program included the premier of the *Hammerklavier* sonata composed by Beethoven in 1817-18—a rather bold choice. The sonata had never been performed in Paris. Furthermore, if one takes the musical taste that Parisians possessed into account, the composition might not be pleasing to their ears. Walker states, "The 'battle' was a perfect illustration of that deeper historical process which governs change throughout all human activity: the Old [Thalberg] had to defend itself again the New [Liszt], and the New won. If history had not brought Liszt and Thalberg together during that spring of 1837, and turned them into symbols of her purpose, she would doubtless have found other pianists through whom to work out her age-old dialectical ritual."[37] In this statement, Walker did not particularly favor Liszt as the winner of this contest. The

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[33] Walker, *Franz Liszt*, I: 233.
[34] Gooley claims that Thalberg's playing is different from so-called "singing tone" and hence the term "vocality." See Gooley, *Virtuoso Liszt*, 27.
[35] Ibid., 25.
[36] Ramann, *Artist and Man*, II: 226.
[37] Walker, *Franz Liszt*, I: 237.

Goddess of History would have chosen other pianists to carry on the mission if Thalberg and Liszt had failed. What really matters in this incident is probably that the New meets the Old. Liszt, who represented the New, regained the title of "leading virtuoso" as he wished. It may just be a result of the process of the history. However, we cannot overlook the help of Beethoven.

According to Gooley, "[Liszt] preferred to be recognized by a rarified, educated elite than by a concert-hall audience; he wanted to be thought of as an *artiste*, not just a pianist."[38] Robert Wangermé, in his "Liszt à Paris," also states that "on the one hand[,] Liszt wanted to be considered the first virtuoso of his time and needed the applause of the crowd, and, on the other, he wanted to be recognised as an ethically and aesthetically superior artist."[39] In order to achieve his goal, Liszt had to come up with a strategy targeting the elite group and then further gaining their recognition as a superior artist. First, Liszt chose his audience—he performed two private concerts at Erard's salon. Second, he played the most difficult sonata composed by the great composer, Ludwig van Beethoven.

Beethoven's name was first known to Parisians in the early 1800s. At first, his music was mostly performed in private concerts. The violinist Baillot in a letter written in 1805 said, "We have already had two sessions of Beethoven, with which we are very satisfied."[40] It was not until 1828, when the Conservatoire Concert Society (*Société des concerts du Conservatoire*) was founded, that Beethoven's music began to be performed much more often in public and astonished Parisians. The following statement is made by Berlioz's teacher Lesueur when he first heard Beethoven's C minor symphony:

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38 Gooley, *Virtuoso Liszt*, 22.

39 See *Music in Paris in the 1830s*, ed. by Peter Bloom (New York: Pendragon, 1987), 568. The English Translation is quoted from Kerry Murphy, "Liszt and Virtuosity," 95.

40 Jean Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism 1789-1830*, trans. by Sylvain Frémaux, ed. Reinhard G. Pauly (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1996), 319.

> Ouf! Let me get out. I must have some air. It's amazing! Wonderful! I was so moved and disturbed that when I emerged from the box and attempted to put on my hat, I couldn't find my head. Now please leave me be. We'll meet tomorrow.[41]

Did Liszt succeed in his goal to be seen as a *superior artist* after all? As Gooley stated earlier, Liszt did not only want to be recognized as the greatest virtuoso of his time. His ultimate goal was to be an ethically and aesthetically superior artist. The French composer Hector Berlioz attended both concerts and later published an essay in the *Gazette musicale de Paris* critiquing Liszt's performances. In the essay, he praised Liszt as "the perfect artist, the first-born of Art." Moreover, Berlioz singled out the *Hammerklavier* sonata and further discussed the composition. He employed two figures from Greek mythology, the Sphinx and Oedipus, to refer, accordingly, to the sonata and Liszt. Berlioz continues, "It is the ideal of the execution of a work which has passed for inexecutable." He later concludes the essay with, "Liszt, in thus making comprehensible a work not yet comprehended, has proved that he is the pianist of the future."[42] According to the essay, Liszt had certainly won the recognition from "a rarified, educated elite" and was considered as a "perfect artist." However, the review merely refers to Liszt's performance of the *Hammerklavier* and not yet to the *superior artist* that Liszt had in mind for himself. His own compositions were rarely discussed or reviewed. In other words, Liszt was not yet an *artiste* as he hoped.[43]

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[41] The Society could not had established without the help of the conductor Françios-Antoine Habeneck. According to Berlioz, Habeneck is the person who made Beethoven's music well-known in Paris. See Hector Berlioz, *Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, trans. and ed. by David Cairns (New York: Alfred A. Knoff, 1969), 104.

[42] Ramann, *Artist and Man*, II: 233-234.

[43] Gooley argues that there are three aspects of Thalberg's reception that worried Liszt the most: the unanimous praise, acceptance to a virtuoso, and the praise for his compositions. See Gooley, *Virtuoso Liszt*, 23-24.

BEETHOVEN MEMORIAL FESTIVAL

The Beethoven Memorial Festival in 1845 was another milestone in Liszt's career. According to Alexander Rehding, the Festival was the moment that Liszt transformed himself from a virtuoso pianist into a self-consciously great composer.[44]

In 1839, the Beethoven Memorial Committee in Bonn announced that their fund-raising for a Beethoven monument had failed. Liszt was in a little Italian fishing village in San Rossore near Pisa with Marie when he heard the news. It was, for Liszt, an insult to his idol. He offered to raise the funds for the monument and started a series of Beethoven concerts. Liszt's devotion to the master broadened his involvement with the event. He was not only the major donor for the monument, he also became an honorary member of the Committee, the soloist for Beethoven's Emperor Piano Concerto, the conductor of Beethoven's C minor symphony, and was commissioned to compose a cantata.[45] In the end, the memorial festival was, more than less, a "Beethoven festival in honor of Liszt."[46]

The "Beethoven" Cantata was a success. Liszt's career as a composer was finally recognized. The critic of the *Wiener Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* gave a positive report: "I consider this work not only as one of the most interesting in Liszt's oeuvre, but in the field of contemporary composition on the whole. With this work, Liszt has raised great expectations for the future."[47] Minor's words indicate the significance of this composition for Liszt's career as "the 1845 cantata was his first work for mixed chorus and orchestra, and its performance at the unveiling of Bonn's Beethoven's statue

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[44] Alexander Rehding, "Inventing Liszt's Life: Early Biography and Autobiography," *The Cambridge Companion to Liszt*, ed. by Kenneth Hamilton (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 21.
[45] Walker, *Franz Liszt*, I: 420.
[46] Ryan Minor, "Prophet and Populace in Liszt's 'Beethoven' Cantatas," *Franz Liszt and His World*, ed. by Christopher H. Gibbs and Dana Gooley (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), 118.
[47] The English translation is as quoted in Rehding, "Inventing," 23.

cemented Liszt's place among a cosmopolitan public of Beethoven admirers."[48]

To compose the cantata, Liszt rearranged music excerpted from Beethoven's "Archduke" Trio, op. 97 and employed it extensively throughout the entire cantata.[49] The work may be meant to honor and praise Beethoven via his own genius. However, for Liszt, his relationship with the composer was strengthened by editing the work. Rehding commented, "whereas Liszt *appeared* to let Beethoven speak for himself, he in fact used Beethoven as a ventriloquist's dummy, and let him speak for Liszt."[50]

As Minor has argued, the Beethoven Memorial Festival was not a self-promoting opportunity for Liszt alone, but also for the other participants of the event.[51] By attending the Memorial Festival, every one was able to maintain a relationship with the composer, albeit posthumously. For Liszt especially, the festival was a triumph. His deep involvement with the event gave him a chance to reclaim himself as Beethoven's consecrated heir. More significantly, with the success of the "Beethoven" cantata, Liszt's desire of being recognized as a composer was finally realized. He was "apparently anointed by Beethoven himself."[52]

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48 Minor, "Prophet," 114-115.
49 Ibid., 117.
50 Alexander Rehding, "Liszt's Musical Monuments," *19th-Century Music*, 26 (2002), 68.
51 Minor, "Prophet," 118.
52 Rehding, "Inventing," 25.

CHAPTER 3: LISZT'S PERFORMANCES OF BEETHOVEN

CULTURAL VIEW OF PUBLIC CONCERTS IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

A public concert prior to Liszt's time was very different from what we would recognize today. First of all, it was always a collaboration of multiple performers, never a solo recital. According to Newman, "up to the mid 1850's the majority of public concerts consisted not only of a variety of compositions by a variety of composers, as is still true today, but of a variety of ensembles played by a variety of performers, as had been true throughout the previous century."[53] Concert announcements printed in the newspapers and concert programs at the time provide abundant information on this matter. This concert tradition can still be found during the earlier years of Liszt's performing career. The following is an example of a concert announcement in which Liszt was to be one of the three performers in the event:[54]

SALONS DE MME CRESP-BEREYTTER

Saturday, 17 January 1824,

Soirée musicale.

Improvisation by Liszt.

Adagio and rondo by Viotti, executed by M. Philippe,

Student of M. Baillot

Duo from *Armide* by Rossini, sung by M. Larochelle and

Mme Casimir.

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[53] William Newman, *The Sonata Since Beethoven* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 55.

[54] This example is taken from a Parisian newspaper, *Le Corsaire*. See Geraldine Keeling, "Liszt's Appearances in Parisian Concerts, 1824-1844; part 1: 1824-1833," *The Liszt Society Journal*, Centenary Issue (1986), 22.

Compositions written for solo instruments were not part of the standard repertories for public concerts during the early nineteenth century. Solo instrumental music, mostly sonatas, was meant to be performed in a private and more intimate setting either as house music or at private concerts. Under such circumstances, solo piano sonatas were also considered as music for private entertaining. Charles Hallé, a renowned nineteenth-century pianist and conductor, recalled in his autobiography an interlude when he was on a performing tour in London in 1848:

> When Mr. Ella [founder and director of the Musical Union, predecessor of the Popular Concerts] asked me what I wished to play, and heard that it was one of Beethoven's pianoforte sonatas [sonata in E-flat major, Opus 31 no. 3], he exclaimed, "Impossible!" and endeavoured to demonstrate that they were not works to be played in public; that, as far as he knew, no solo sonata had ever before been included in any concert programme, and that he could not venture upon offering one to his subscribers. I had to battle for several days before he gave way.…I have searched the columns of the "Musical World" for at least fifteen years previous to 1848, but have not found one instance of a sonata being included in a concert programme; Ella therefore may have been right in considering my venture a bold one.[55]

Although Hallé's story is a single incident from London, it nevertheless illustrates the cultural background of the musical scene in the first half of the nineteenth century and the situation that the genre was facing. The prominent recitalists in the century, such as Clara Schumann and Hans von Bülow were major forces to popularize the performance of sonatas in public concerts.[56] Among them, Liszt was one of the pioneer performers. He consistently performed the music in public and successfully integrated the genre into public concert programs over time. This move must have drawn certain attention from

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[55] Michael Kennedy ed., *The Autobiography of Charles Hallé: with Correspondence and Diaries* (London: Elek, 1972), 116-7.
[56] Newman, *Sonata*, 52.

the public—the attention that Liszt might have desired.

CONCERT PIANIST AND BEETHOVEN VIRTUOSO IN THE MAKING

In fact, Beethoven's piano sonatas claimed the central role in Liszt's piano solo programs. It may not merely be as simple as paying the master homage, but also a strategic act in order to elevate himself. By performing these masterpieces, Liszt successfully promoted his own performing career. It is necessary to reconstruct Liszt as a performer in general before focusing on his virtuoso Beethoven performances. As Newman has stated, "Liszt's playing of Beethoven's piano sonatas needs to be viewed in a broader context of his playing in general."[57]

In order to restore a much more complete image of Liszt as a performing artist, I will examine Liszt's performance activities during the years 1832 and 1847. According to Bertrand Ott, "the years 1832 to 1846 circumscribe the most important part of Liszt's career as a virtuoso."[58] Liszt first encountered Paganini in 1832. The performance given by the already-famous violin virtuoso made a great impact on Liszt. Arthur Hedley has argued, "After the first shock of hearing the Italian he determined to show that he could in every respect achieve the same astounding and almost paralyzing effect on his hearers."[59] Therefore, Paganini's Parisian concert marked a turning point in Liszt's performing career.

Liszt's performing career came to an end in 1847. According to Walker, the virtuoso expressed his intention of retiring from the concert scene as early as 1845.

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[57] William Newman, "Liszt's Interpreting of Beethoven's Piano Sonatas," *The Musical Quarterly*, 58 (1972), 187.
[58] Bertrand Ott, *Lisztian Keyboard Energy*, trans. by Donald H. Windham (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 13.
[59] Arthur Hedley, "Liszt the Pianist and Teacher," *Franz Liszt: The Man and His Music*, ed. by Alan Walker (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1970), 22.

However, the previously scheduled concert engagements prohibited him from doing so.[60] His wish was finally realized in 1847. Liszt announced his retirement as a concert pianist after a performance he gave in Elisabetgrad and would not again perform in public for his own benefit.[61] Liszt's virtuoso career came to an end at age thirty-five while still at his height. He then devoted himself entirely to composition and conducting; moreover, "to the promotion of the career of other artists, and to nurturing a new generation of pianists."[62] His fame as a virtuoso did not fade away with his disappearance from the public scene. As matter as fact, it lasted for almost another forty years until Liszt's death. As Walker argued, "this was one of the wisest decisions Liszt ever made….In this, as in so much else, he proved himself to be their [young pianists] superior."[63]

Madame Auguste Boissier was an amateur musician and composer, whose diary provides a comprehensive record of the piano lessons that Liszt gave her daughter, Valérie, and of some of his performances. The following two excerpts are taken from one of the entries Boissier wrote in 1832. She first described Liszt as a supreme performer:

> His expressions are true, natural, sincere, and at leisure he measures them or holds them back; then with the inspiration of the moment he gives them life. His musical declamation is the reflection of a noble, tender, pure and passionate soul; nothing vulgar nor affected comes to tarnish it.

Later, her description of Liszt's performance seems to be able to restore the experience of

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60 Walker, *Franz Liszt*, I: 427.
61 Ibid., 442.
62 David Ian Allsobrook, *Liszt: My Travelling Circus Life* (London: The Macmillan Press Limited, 1991), 5.
63 Walker, *Franz Liszt*, I: 442.

the performance as Walker claims, "more like séances than serious musical events".[64]

> As I have already indicated, he aims at reproducing the strong and true emotions, violent passions and impressions: terror, fright, horror, exasperation, despair, love brought to delirium; after these stormy movements come discouragement, weariness, languor, a kind if tranquility full of softness, of abandonment, of weakness; then the exhausted soul recovers in order to suffer [a]nd to burn.[65]

Henry Reeve, editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, has more:

> I saw Liszt's countenance assume that agony of expression, mingled with radiant smiles of joy, which I never saw in any other human face, except in the paintings of our Saviour by some of the early masters; his hands rushed over the keys, the floor on which I sat shook like a wire, and the whole audience were wrapped in sound, when the hand and frame of the artist gave way; he fainted in the arms of the friend who was turning over for him, and we bore him out in a strong fit of hysterics. The effect of this scene was really dreadful. The whole room sat breathless with fear, till Hiller came forward and announced that Liszt was already restored to consciousness, and was comparatively well again.[66]

Liszt's fellow musicians were also impressed with his ability as a performer. In 1840, Robert Schumann wrote in his Leipzig newspaper, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* and commented on Liszt's performance:

> Now the demon's power began to awake; he first played with the public as if to try it, then gave it something more profound, until every single member was enveloped in his art; and then the whole mass began to rise and fall precisely as he willed it. I have never found any artist, except Paganini, to possess in so high a degree as Liszt this power of subjugating, elevating, and leading the public….We

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64 Ibid., 289

65 Auguste Boissier, "Liszt Pédagogue," trans. by Elyse Mach, *The Liszt Studies* (New York, London: Associated Music Publishers, 1973), xvi.

66 Adrian Williams, *Portrait of Liszt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 66.

> are overwhelmed by a flood of tones and feelings.[67]

In a personal letter to his wife, Clara, Schumann further delivered his thoughts on Liszt's performance:

> I could have wished you with us at Liszt's this morning. He really is too extraordinary. The way he played from the *Novelettes*, the Fantasy, and the Sonata moved me greatly. Many things he rendered differently from how I had imagined them, but always with genius, and with a tenderness and boldness of feeling such as probably even he can't match every day. Only Becker was there, and the tears came to his eyes, I believe. The second *Novelette*, the one in D, gave me especially great pleasure. You will hardly believe what an effect it makes….[68]

Felix Mendelssohn reported his impressions of Liszt in a letter to his mother dated in March, 1840:

> Liszt has been here for a fortnight and been the cause of a tremendous uproar in both a good and a bad sense. I consider him to be fundamentally a good, warm-hearted man and an admirable artist ….
>
> Liszt, on the other hand, possesses a certain suppleness and differentiation in his fingering, as well as a thoroughly musical feeling that cannot be equaled. In a word, I have heard no performer whose musical perceptions extend to the very tips of his fingers and emanate directly from them as he would have far surpassed all the rest, were not a man's thoughts in connection with all this the main things. And these, so far at least, seem to have been denied him by nature, so that in this respect most of the great virtuosi equal or even excel him. But that he, together with Thalberg, alone represents the highest class of pianists of the present day, seems to me indisputable.[69]

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[67] Ibid., 123.
[68] Ibid., 124.
[69] *Ibid*., 127-8.

Furthermore, Saint-Rieul Dupouy, a writer and journalist, in an article in *Courrier de la Gironde* in September 1844 acclaimed Liszt as "undoubtedly the greatest pianist of this age and of all time." He then compared Liszt to two influential musical figures: "[Liszt] is the Paganini as well as the Beethoven of the piano." Dupouy continued:

> Liszt is a great poet. His soul leads his hands, and indeed he plays more with his heart, his intelligence, his whole being than with his fingers. At times he leans backwards and seems to be reading in the air, music that is dreamed, or to be translating something that is sung up there in the region of harmonies. Then he leans his head over the keyboard as if to bring it to life; he grasps it bodily, struggles with it, tames it, embraces it, magnetizes it with his powerful hands. Then it is no longer a piano that you hear; it is an orchestra of a thousand voices.[70]

Liszt's physical movement while performing was controversial. It was often the big subject among the public. The written accounts left by Liszt's contemporaries may be able to help us to reanimate the scene. In a separate entrance, Boissier provided this report which shows how "Liszt 'acted' his music at the keyboard:"[71]

> He generally begins his compositions with languidness, sometimes with indifference; then he becomes animated, and enters a state of such agitation that his chest swells and his eyes sparkle. He trembles, becoming breathless, and nearly foams at the mouth, so delirious in his soul. In those moments, his speed and strength are such that the piano takes on unusual scintillation and brilliance, and any piano, however mediocre it might be, would become superb with his playing.[72]

In 1835, an article published in the *Revue et Gazette Musicale,* has another physical description of Liszt's performance:

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[70] The English translation is quoted from Ott, *Listian Keyboard Energy*, 18.
[71] Allsobrook, *Travelling Circus*, 17.
[72] Boissier, *Liszt Pédagogue*, xv.

> It is quite a sight to see him with his hair flying as he hurls his fingers from one end of the keyboard to the other to play a note which explodes in a strident or silvery sound, like a bell struck by a shot. His fingers appear to extend and relax by means of a spring, and sometimes they seem to become separated from his hands.[73]

As Walker states, "[Liszt] was the first to play the whole keyboard repertory (as it then existed), from Bach to Chopin."[74] The following report is given by Boisser. The works she enumerates illustrate the dynamic repertoire that Liszt had.

> Feeling that he is being listened to with great pleasure, Liszt himself derives pleasure from playing. Once again he let us hear a whole series of masterpieces, going through Beethoven, Weber, Mozart, and Haydn, drawing parallels between them, admiring and loving them with the good faith of a beautiful soul: as it were summoning them, raising them and restoring them to life.[75]

Liszt held a series of eight charity concerts for Hungarian flood victims in Vienna in 1838, which also featured a wide range of repertoire. He performed from memory nearly forty compositions including Beethoven, Weber, Chopin, Scarlatti, Moscheles, and others. The concert series not only raised a significant sum for the victims, but also helped to create a musical trend. It was rare for musicians to incorporate "historical pieces" in their concert programs.[76] Scarlatti's music was performed for the Viennese audiences for the first time since its rediscovery. Liszt's astounding performance generated the public's interest in music from an earlier era. In other words, Liszt helped to broaden the concert repertoire of his time.

Liszt, as a great improviser himself, would frequently take liberties with the work

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[73] Ott, *Listian Keyboard Energy*, 6.
[74] Walker, *Franz Liszt*, I: 285.
[75] As quoted in Williams, *Portrait*, 48.
[76] Walker, *Franz Liszt*, I: 256.

and not follow exactly the composer's instructions. He sometimes changed the tempo of the music, altered the notes, or inserted improvisatory passages into the piece he was performing. According to Boissier's report in 1832,

> Kalkbrenner marked his exercise at a slower speed than Liszt would have, but Liszt insisted that "the composer's tempo" be maintained. The only difference is Liszt's insistence on rekindling the motif when it is taken up for the second time; it should then be played somewhat faster.[77]

Taking liberties with the music might have been Liszt's approach to study and attempt to gain deeper insight into the works. As Walker stated, Liszt "continually sought out new ways of playing old works. 'The letter killeth but the spirit giveth life' was his watchword. He would try to penetrate to the very heart of a composition, playing it through in a variety of different ways until he thought that he had divined its true meaning."[78] Newman also mentioned "in part these liberties must have reflected his immediate involvement in the music."[79] However, his improvising style of interpreting the music raised extreme opinions. Over the years, it earned him notoriety "for embellishing, embroidering, putting the mark of his own flamboyant personality on everything he touched."[80] In the review of Liszt's recital in 1836, Berlioz wrote,

> [Liszt] had hitherto been obliged to undergo many a sharp criticism on account of the frequently exaggerated *nuances* in this part of his execution, by which it was rendered too agitated, as also on account of the frequent change of time, and abundant ornamentation which almost arbitrarily overloaded compositions

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77 Boissier, *Liszt Pédagogue*, xiii.
78 Walker, *Franz Liszt*, 316.
79 Newman, "Liszt's Interpreting", 188.
80 Katherine Kolb Reeve, "Primal Scenes: Smithson, Pleyel, and Liszt in the Eyes of Berlioz", *19th-Century Music*, 18 (1995), 227.

requiring simplicity and repose.[81]

One may assume that the harsh criticism regarding his free performance style could have perhaps made Liszt consider the whole process of rendering the music. However, things did not seem to work out with Liszt in the way one might think. According to Allsobrook, "it is clear, from the evidence of other reliable critics, that Liszt was never unwilling to embellish the printed notes with a few more of his own, even when playing Beethoven or Chopin."[82] Carl Reinecke testified after listening to one of the concerts Liszt gave in Hamburg in 1840:

> [H]e began with Beethoven's Sonata in C sharp minor, *quasi una fantasia*; and I very well remember being as delighted with his matchless rendering of the first two movements as I was astonished at the rhythmic liberties he took in the last.[83]

Ignaz Moscheles, a renowned pianist and composer, once commented on Liszt's performance of his works in 1840. From his statement, one can see that Liszt inserted his personality strongly into his performance.

> At one of the Philharmonic Concerts, he played three of my 'Studies' quite admirably. Faultless in the way of execution, but by his powers he has completely metamorphosed these pieces; they have become more his Studies than mine. With all that they pleased me, and I shouldn't like to hear them played in any other way by him.[84]

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81 Ramann, *Artist and Man*, 231-232.
82 Allsobrook, *Travelling Circus*, 36.
83 As quoted in Williams, *Portrait*, 145.
84 Charlotte Moscheles ed., *Recent music and musicians as described in the diaries and correspondence of Ignatz Moscheles* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1879), 264.

Liszt was an extraordinary performer who felt the music strongly and personally. Therefore, he interpreted the music as if working with his own compositions. As Wilhelm Kienzl recalled decades later, "[Liszt] performed…in such a free, improvisatory manner that he seemed to be composing it before the very eyes of the hearer."[85]

While the musicians in general seemed to be pleased with Liszt's performance, some had different thoughts. Friedrich Wieck, Clara Wieck's (later Schumann) father and a prominent piano pedagogue, expressed his concern regarding Liszt's performance in his diary in 1838:

> He can be compared to no other player—he stands alone. He arouses terror and amazement, and is a very engaging artist. His appearance at the piano is indescribable—he is an original—is absorbed by the piano….His passion knows no limits, and not infrequently he jars on one's sense of beauty by tearing melodies to pieces. He uses the pedal too much, and so is bound to make his works still more incomprehensible, to laymen if not to experts.[86]

Other musicians echoed Wieck's sentiments. Despite his admiration for Liszt's artistry, Mendelssohn did not seem to like the idea of "free performance". He criticized one of Liszt's Berlin performances in 1842:

> Liszt has not given me half so much pleasure here as in other places: He has forfeited a good part of my esteem thanks to the idiotic pranks he played, not only with the public—which matters little—but with the music itself. He performed works by Beethoven, Bach, Handel, Mozart, and Weber in such a lamentably imperfect style, so uncleanly, so ignorantly that I could have listened to many an average pianist with more pleasure. Here six bars were added, there seven left out: now he played wrong harmonies which were subsequently cancelled out by others equally false. Then we had a horrible fortissimo employed in passages

[85] As quoted in Newman, "Liszt's interpreting," 189
[86] As quoted in Williams, *Portrait*, 102.

marked pianissimo—and so on, all kinds of deplorable misdeeds.[87]

Liszt was a natural improviser. It must have been almost impossible for him not to insert his own personality while performing. The flare of improvising can also be detected among his compositions. As Saffle pointed out in his book,

> Liszt was at heart an improviser, and his enthusiasm for spontaneous music-making carried over into his career as a composer. Most of the compositions he published between the middle 1830s and the early 1840s appeared in two, three, or even four variant or "alternate" editions, and we simply cannot tell today which edition(s) he may have performed from during his German tours.[88]

Walker's theory provided a possible interpretation to the phenomenon,

> For him a composition was rarely finished, but went on evolving through the years. It does not follow that later versions replace earlier ones. Some of his works exist in three or four radically different versions, all of which are there to be played.[89]

Improvisation was deeply embedded in Liszt. It affected him in aspects of performance and composing. Since Liszt was also an important musical educator and editor, it would be noteworthy to examine how this improvising nature affected Liszt in these two areas. I will further discuss on this subject in the following chapter.

Liszt's promising talent had been apparent since he was a young boy. The talent brought him much desired fame and confidence—of a kind. In 1826, at age fifteen,

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87 As quoted in Hedley, "Liszt the Pianist," 28.
88 Michael Saffle, *Liszt in Germany: 1840-1845* (NY: Pendragon Press, 1994), 196.
89 Alan Walker, "Liszt, Franz", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 29 vols (London: Macmillan, 2001), XIV: 785.

Liszt traveled through western and southern France and gave concerts. Joseph Lecourt, a music lover and an attorney, wrote about the experience he gained at some of Liszt's performances during this tour. We are well aware of the stories of Liszt's admiration of Beethoven and his idolizing the master. Lecourt's observation of Liszt in performance tells the story from another side. It well illustrates the psychological burden that Liszt had to carry concerning Beethoven and his masterworks:

> I am not enthusiastic about performers, and am prejudiced against big reputations; the first time I heard Liszt I was not satisfied with him. On an ordinary piano in a small salon cluttered with furniture he was playing a polonaise by Czerny….Then it was announced that he was going to improvise and desired a theme. I gave him the Andante in A minor from the Seventh Symphony of Beethoven—but he turned it down and gave us some mediocre variations on Rode's Air in G. You can imagine how vexed I was. Quite beside myself, I cornered him in the salon and voiced my grievance. Quickly seizing my hand, he showed me Beethoven's theme, which he called *airy* and celestial, and said: 'Can one play things like that in front of donkeys! Didn't you see how they applauded the polonaise?' I insisted on the Beethoven theme, and he gave me his promise. But when his first concert came he improvised on some very ordinary melodies and admitted to me afterwards that he had been afraid to tackle the Beethoven.
>
> One has to force the hands of these people, but to do so by warming their heads. At his second concert I got the orchestra to play the Andante. The child was overwhelmed, his chest heaved, his eyes betrayed his admiration—and he rushed to the piano and rendered to Beethoven a homage worthy of him.
>
> It has all been explained to me. He flatters himself that he can play all music as well as anyone. It is only Beethoven's music in which he is never satisfied with himself. He always feels that he is not up to this composer. Nevertheless, he played me several of his works in a superior way…[90]

One of the entries in Boissier's diary in 1832 has a similar report. This time Liszt not only addresses Beethoven's music, but also Weber's compositions:

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[90] As quoted in Williams, *Portrait*, 28.

> By way of contrast, he [Liszt] played a wild, unexpected, profound selection of Beethoven which overwhelmed him with admiration and astonishment. He expressed profound humility before Weber and Beethoven, maintaining that he was as yet unworthy of executing their works, though he sets the piano on fire whenever he plays them.[91]

Liszt's success brought him public recognition in the form of concert attendance and newspaper acclamation. The written accounts given by his contemporaries can help us to better understand how they worshipped the virtuoso. From the following accounts, one can also see that Liszt was becoming recognized as an authority on Beethoven's music.

At a private gathering held at a renowned playwright Ernest Legouvé's home, Liszt played the Adagio movement of Beethoven's C-sharp minor (*Moonlight*) sonata. The performance was supreme and breath-taking. Berlioz, who was present at the time, became quite emotional. From the following account given by Legouvé in his book, one can see how Liszt's performance impacted listeners:

> Liszt … begins the mournful and heartrending andante of the sonata in C sharp. Everyone remains as if rooted to the spot where he happens to be at that self-same moment, and does not attempt to stir. Now and then the expiring embers pierce through their ashes and throw strange, lurid and fitful gleams into the room and invest us with weird, uncouth shapes. I had dropped into an armchair, while above my head I heard stifled cries and sobs. It was Berlioz trying to master his emotion. At the termination of the piece we remained absolutely mute for a moment or so; then Goubaux lights a candle and while we are passing from the drawing-room into the study, Liszt lays his hand on my arm and stops, and points to Berlioz with the tears streaming down his cheeks.
>
> 'Look at him,' says Liszt in a low voice, 'he has been listening to this as the "heir presumptive[”] to Beethoven.'[92]

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91 Boissier, *Liszt Pédagogue*, xiv.

92 Ernest Legouvé, *Sixty Years of Recollections* (London and Sydney: Eden, Remington & Co., 1893),226. In Walker's biography, Liszt performed the Adagio movement for the evening. See Walker,

According to a review appeared in *The Times* in 1840, July 2nd, Schindler was also in awe of Liszt's interpretation of Beethoven's music:

> During the performance of this [Beethoven] sonata we were forcibly struck with the truth of an observation made by Schindler, who is a most enthusiastic worshipper of his departed friend, and who condemns with inflexible severity all erroneous and imperfect interpretations of the great master's ideas, emphatically says, that 'Franz Liszt has contributed more than almost any instrumentalist of the present day to the just comprehension of Beethoven's music.' Liszt gave decided proof of the accuracy of this observation by his performance of the sonata yesterday.[93]

Schindler also used his Beethoven biography to promote Liszt stating:

> He had indeed mastered Beethoven's music, and some of those pieces that conformed to his particular style made up a considerable portion of his repertoire! …. For Liszt's feeling for these works was nor devoid of a poetic sense, and there were moments when his playing, though far from Beethoven's, was still in the master's spirit. His performance was never ordinary! He even had occasional times of tranquillity, and even reverence, when he might have completely satisfied the great composer himself …[94]

LISZT'S STRATEGIC APPROACH TO BEETHOVEN'S PIANO SONATAS

According to Liszt himself, he performed the following ten Beethoven piano sonatas in public: Opus 26; Opus 27 no. 2 (*Moonlight*); Opus 31 no. 2 (*Tempest*); Opus 57 (*Appassionata*); Opus 90; Opus 101; Opus 106 (*Hammerklavier*); Opus 109; Opus 110;

Franz Liszt, I: 182. Legouvé probably made a mistake here since there is no andante movement included in this sonata. The three movements are respectively marked as *Adagio sostenuto, Allegretto,* and *Presto agitato*.

93 Williams, *Portrait*, 136.

94 Anton Felix Schindler, *Beethoven As I Knew Him*, ed. by Donald W. MacArdle trans. by Constance S. Jolly (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 433.

and Opus 111.[95] Newman has done a detailed study of Liszt's performance of the ten Beethoven piano sonatas listed above in his article, "Liszt's Interpreting of Beethoven's Sonatas." Therefore, instead of focusing, again, on Liszt's performance of these Beethoven sonatas, I will focus on the overall aspect of Liszt as a Beethoven virtuoso through eye witness accounts and attempt to establish how Liszt persuaded others to believe that he was Beethoven's musical heir.

In the eyes of his contemporaries, Liszt was an "unsurpassed" Beethoven performer.[96] Berlioz, as discussed earlier, wrote several articles praising Liszt and became his major supporter. Richard Wagner, a close friend to Liszt and later his son-in-law, also praised him as the person who made Beethoven's music accessible and understandable. He wrote:

> Beethoven, on the contrary, was obliged to count on the same virtuosity in his band as he himself had before acquired at the pianoforte, where the greatest expertness of technique was simply meant to free the player from all mechanical fetters, and thus enable him to bring the most changeful nuances of expression to that drastic distinctness without which they often would only make the melody appear an unintelligible chaos. The master's last piano-compositions, conceived on these lines, have first been made accessible to us by *Liszt*, and till then were scarcely understood at all.[97]

Being endorsed by contemporary young musicians, such as Berlioz and Wagner, certainly helped to promote Liszt's career. Liszt and these young musicians shared the same passion for music as well as the passion for all of Beethoven's music. Beethoven at the time was successfully established as a musical icon. His orchestral works were

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95 Peter Raabe, *Franz Liszt*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Tatzing: H. Schneider, 1968), I: 271.
96 Newman, "Liszt's Interpreting", 188.
97 Richard Wagner, "Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, " *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, trans. by William Ashton Ellis, 7 vols. (New York: Broude Brothers, 1966), V: 233.

frequently performed and generally admired. However, it is a different story with Beethoven's piano works, especially the late ones. Newman wrote,

> These works were not only of relatively greater magnitude, both in size and emotional scope, but they continued to lead further and further into the obscurities of uncharted techniques, styles, and forms. Once more, Beethoven's public was left far behind.[98]

The public were indeed left "far behind." Extreme controversies regarding Beethoven's late works still flourished decades after the composer's death. As Knittel states, "Beethoven's final works provoked a wide range of reactions, from vague discomfort to outright condemnation, among critics writing in the decades immediately following his death."[99] According to Wilhelm von Lenz, a Russian amateur pianist,

> Beethoven was not yet understood; of his thirty-two sonatas only *three were* played (!)—the *A flat major* Sonata with the variations (Op. 26), the *C sharp minor quasi Fantasia*, and the *Sonata in F minor*….The five last ones passed for the monstrous abortions of a German idealist who did not know how to write for the piano.[100]

Beethoven's last five piano sonatas claimed a center role in Liszt's solo repertoire. One can only imagine the tough situation that Liszt might have faced playing these works in concerts. It might be worthwhile to examine how Liszt incorporated Beethoven's solo piano works into his concert programs and who were the prominent audiences Liszt was targeting.

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98 William Newman, *The Sonata in the Classical Era*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 527.
99 K. M. Knittel, "Wagner, Deafness," 51.
100 Wilhelm von Lenz, "Franz Liszt," *The Great Piano Virtuosos of Our Time from Personal Acquaintance*, trans. by Madeleine R. Baker, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 14-15.

In order to examine Liszt's concert programs, one has to survey his concert activities over the years. Scholars are never short of resources to track his performance activities. However, the majority of the sources do not usually provide information that one might need. For instance, the concert programs and reviews would serve as primary sources for studying Liszt's appearances and his repertories. However, the programs are more often poor in their content. They might list only the names of the composers whose works were performed but not the title of the music. These essential details would most likely be left out of the concert review as well.

Despite the historical problem, Michael Saffle studied Liszt's concert activities in Germany during the years 1840 and 1845.[101] He surveyed and analyzed nearly three hundred of Liszt's performances and concluded that the virtuoso's "legendary reputation as a 'transcendental virtuoso' was based primarily on repeated performances of fewer than two dozen compositions written or arranged by himself or by Beethoven, Chopin, Hummel, Rossini, Schubert, or Weber."[102] According to his study, Liszt's solo recital program usually opened with a large-scale work, such as a Beethoven sonata or a sonata movement followed by a smaller work, and then another big-scale composition and the second half of the program would repeat the same pattern. All in all, the entire program would consist of several showy pieces. They were meant to show off Liszt's excellent technique and impress the audience.[103]

As we study Liszt's strategies on planning his concert programs, it is necessary to study the component of his audience. Social barriers had gradually been demolished since the late eighteenth century in Europe. Prosperous bourgeoisie—rather than aristocrats—became the primary members and sponsors of musical events. Accordingly,

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101 Michael Saffle, *Liszt in Germany* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1994).
102 Ibid., 185.
103 Ibid., 198-9.

we can assume that the majority of Liszt's audiences were formed from this newly-raised class.

Concert audiences claimed the central role in Liszt' performing career. Liszt understood the fickle relationship thoroughly and was "constantly on the lookout for ways to broaden and deepen his appeal."[104] Gooley states,

> Reading [Liszt's] letters, it becomes clear that he was constantly watching his audiences, measuring out his prospects for success, and actively shaping his reputation in the press.[105]

In order to establish a successful relationship with his audience, Liszt often offered a program customized to the audience's taste. According to Allsobrook, "In Berlin, or Leipzig, [Liszt] would play music from the 'serious' Classical and Romantic repertoires, while in London, or even Paris, he trotted out the flashy virtuoso pieces which he knew would excite and satisfy shallower listeners."[106] Schumann also has a similar report in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*,

> [T]he visible effort with which Liszt played on that evening was but a natural consequence of what had preceded the concert. With the most friendly intentions, he had selected three pieces by composers residing here: Mendelssohn, Hiller, and myself; Mendelssohn's latest concerto, etudes by Hiller, and several numbers from an early work of mine, entitled *Carnaval*.[107]

It seems that Liszt's audience-oriented strategy was able to serve him well. However, the ordinary music lovers might not be Liszt's primary concern. We might

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104 Gooley, *Virtuoso Liszt*, 12.
105 Ibid., 2.
106 Allsobrook, *Travelling Circus*, 4.
107 Williams, *Portrait*, 127.

be able to gain a better understanding of how Liszt marketed himself and his strategic approach to the program from Liszt-Thalberg rivalries in 1837 Paris—the new European music center of the century.

In order to win the contest with Thalberg, Liszt aimed at a different section of the audience to separate himself from Thalberg. According to Gooley, the audiences that Liszt was eager to appeal to were the "*literati*," the "*artistes*," and the younger musicians of Paris.[108] Liszt considered this group of people as the "aristocracy of talent," who would have greater interest and appreciation of Beethoven's music.[109] Thalberg's performance, on the other hand, successfully fascinated the "aristocracy of birth" and "dilettante public".[110] His concert programs clearly reflected the Parisian musical interest in the popular operatic transcriptions and some frequently-performed classical pieces. Gooley comments,

> Liszt's initial strategy for challenging Thalberg as a virtuoso pianist, rather than as a composer, was to advance himself as a proponent of Beethoven. Before 1836, the only Beethoven he had ever performed in public, as far as we know, was the "Moonlight" sonata. In Thalberg's wake, however, he gave two unplanned concerts and made the extraordinary move of programming the "Hammerklavier" sonata. It was a gesture of separation from Thalberg and his dilettante public, which was least likely (he thought) to be interested in the Beethoven. He was asserting himself as a serious *artiste* in order to make Thalberg look like a charlatan.[111]

Liszt's strategy was simple and straightforward. He did not want to share the same battlefield with Thalberg. The strategy Liszt initiated for this contest is probably a starting point at which Liszt began to transform his relationship with Beethoven. From

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[108] Gooley, *Virtuoso Liszt*, 19.
[109] Ibid., 20.
[110] Ibid., 20 and 53.
[111] Ibid., 53.

Liszt's childhood stories, one can see that Beethoven was merely an idol for the youngster. He worshipped the master but played his compositions like an ordinary admirer. Liszt did not further utilize this relationship until the contest against Thalberg. Holding Beethoven as an artistic icon, Liszt divided the Parisian public into two groups. The group who also admired Beethoven would be his comrades. Those who did not appreciate the master's music were philistines. In other words, Beethoven became Liszt's commander's sword in this famous musical battle and throughout the rest of Liszt's career.

Liszt did not have immediate success in this contest. In fact, the Parisian public seemed to favor Thalberg. Gooley states, "[c]ritics had voiced disapproval of Liszt's *entraînements* before, but the experience of Thalberg made them less tolerant."[112] Liszt was frustrated with the unexpected outcome. Although he soon sought other methods to defeat Thalberg, Beethoven's music still served as one of Liszt's warhorses. The unfortunate situation did not keep him from posing as Beethoven's musical heir. He continued to transcribe and publish Beethoven's symphonies. Later, he gave a series of Beethoven concerts in Vienna in favor of the master's monument fund. Eventually he successfully established himself as a Beethoven authority and hence his Beethoven edition.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, Liszt is portrayed through eyewitness accounts as a performer and a strategist. Through the eyes of his contemporaries, we are able to see the virtuoso in his historical and social context. Liszt is a forerunner of many things in musical performances. As far as we know, he was the first pianist in history who performed an

[112] Ibid., 54.

entire virtuoso solo concert from memory.[113] Carl Reinecke also stated, "Liszt was the first pianist to give concerts entirely alone, without assistance from other artists."[114] Besides being a true "solo" pianist, he also was one of the pioneer musicians who presented a wide range of music in concerts. His repertoire covered music from the Baroque era to the newly-composed works in the Romantic period, which was rarely done in the early nineteenth century.

The term, "recital," is believed to have been invented by Liszt.[115] He employed it for his concert held in the Hanover Square Room in London in 1840. A review printed in the *Times* has a further discussion on this matter:

> We have heard the question more than once asked, 'Why does Liszt name them "Pianoforte Recitals"?' and the choice of the expression has been by some condemned as an affected singularity. In the first place, it must be admitted that the term *concerts* would be inapplicable to these performances. Liszt, we presume, intends the word to be, as it really is, a proper translation of *Vortrage*. In Germany it is usual to call the performance or execution of a piece of music, the recitation of a poem, *Der Vortrage* … The introduction of foreign equivalents for *Vortrag* and the verb *Vortragen* are not, however, of a very recent date, for *Recitation* and *Recitiven*, the Teutonic form of the verb, occur in works of elocution, and may be found even in dictionaries of some standing … We hope that the alliance which exists between music and Germany—in its results truly 'une belle alliance'—will excuse these observations.[116]

Moreover, Liszt was also the first pianist who consistently placed the piano parallel to the stage. Prior to this, the piano was placed with the tip pointing towards the audience. Liszt turned the piano to 90 degrees so the sound would be better projected across the auditorium with the open piano lid.[117] All these rules are still followed by pianists up to

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113 Walker, *Franz Liszt*, I: 285.
114 Williams, *Portrait*, 145.
115 Walker, *Franz Liszt*, I: 285.
116 As quoted in Allsobrook, *Travelling Circus*, 35.
117 Walker, *Franz Liszt*, I: 285-6.

this day.

As a performer, Liszt may not have been "faithful" to the musical text. His playing was unpredictable and unconventional. He constantly interpreted and performed the same piece differently at each performance. This may not be acceptable in the modern day when musicians are expected to give an "authentic" performance, if there really is such a thing. According to Richard Taruskin, a so-called "authentic interpretation" is actually variable. What musicians always do is, in fact, "recasting tradition in contemporary terms and according to contemporary taste."[118] In Liszt's time, being "faithful" to the music was not a major concern of the musicians. They were inclined to have a much freer interpretation than we would tolerate today. Some musicians, such as Mendelssohn and Clara Schumann, did think it was important to follow the exact musical text. However, to Liszt, it was "a denial of the player's artistic personality."[119] Eventually, it all depended on the taste of contemporary audiences and critics.

Through Liszt's performance, we can gain a further understanding of the musical culture in the early nineteenth century. It also provides a valuable opportunity to see Liszt as a musician beyond his glorious halo. Beethoven's incomparable reputation greatly influenced Liszt and other musicians. He not only inspired, but also helped Liszt to advance his performing career. In the next chapter, I shall focus on Liszt's edition of Beethoven's piano sonatas and discuss the master's influence on Liszt's performance as an editor and pedagogue.

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118 Richard Taruskin, "Resisting the Ninth," *19th-Century Music*, 12 (1989), 243.
119 Walker, *Franz Liszt*, I: 317.

CHAPTER 4: LISZT'S EDITORIAL PERFORMANCE OF BEETHOVEN PIANO SONATAS

INTRODUCTION

If there is a Holy Grail in Beethoven scholarship, then it is the answer to this question: how did Beethoven want his music played? Beginning almost immediately after his death, there has been a constant debate regarding Beethoven's true musical intentions. It is not that we lack for evidence. We have Beethoven's conversation books, his correspondence and, in some cases, the autograph manuscripts and first editions. Numerous subsequent early editions of Beethoven's works also serve as another major source of study, especially those published during the composer's lifetime.

Nevertheless, questions regarding Beethoven's musical intentions remain: why? Part of the answer may lie in the torturous journey most pieces made from pen to piano. For example, before sending a newly composed work to the publishers, Beethoven would occasionally hire a professional copyist to produce a clean copy of the manuscript.[120] Unfortunately, Beethoven's messy handwriting often caused the copyists to misread his manuscripts and thus introduced errors into the published editions.[121] Although Beethoven was sometimes able to correct the misprints before the publication, more often than not, these corrections were ignored, or, worst, new mistakes were created. Therefore, even when it appears that we have Beethoven's own thoughts on paper, we are hindered by errors, laziness, and human frailty.

Carl Czerny, of all Beethoven's contemporaries, may bring us the closest to discerning the composer's intentions. If Beethoven gave anyone a map to the Grail, he

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[120] Barry Cooper, "Music Copying and Publishing," *The Beethoven Compendium* (London: Thomas and Hudson, 1991), 91.

[121] For a further reference on Beethoven's copyists, see Alan Tyson's, "Notes on Five of Beethoven's Copyists," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 23 (1970), 439-471. This is probably the most comprehensive research on Beethoven's copiests in English up to this day.

gave it to Czerny. Czerny, a renowned pianist and teacher in nineteenth-century Vienna, was one of the most famous students of Beethoven and also one of the earliest pianists to attempt a systematic approach to Beethoven's works for piano. His close relationship to Beethoven and his outstanding musicianship helped to make him an authoritative interpreter of Beethoven's piano music. His commentary, *Über den richtigen Vortrag der sämtlichen Beethoven'schen Klavierwerke,* still serves as one of the most valuable references for the pianists up to this day.[122]

Franz Liszt in turn studied with Czerny for a short time and presumably studied the master's works with him. Yet Liszt thought of *himself* as Beethoven's musical heir. His obsession with Beethoven is best illustrated by the story he told of his meeting Beethoven when he was eleven and receiving a "kiss of consecration" from the legendary composer as discussed in chapter two. Although Liszt probably never met Beethoven and most likely fabricated the story, Beethoven—and the supposed meeting—nevertheless formed the backdrop of Liszt's entire musical life, some might say to a pathological degree. In addition to performing Beethoven's works extensively, Liszt also produced his own edition of the piano sonatas, taking Czerny's project a step further.[123] While the edition may not tell us much about Beethoven, it can tell us something about Liszt and how he approached the music—what he valued, emphasized, and perhaps intended. In order to investigate how Liszt saw Beethoven, I will focus on Liszt's edition of the ten Beethoven piano sonatas which he had performed in public.[124]

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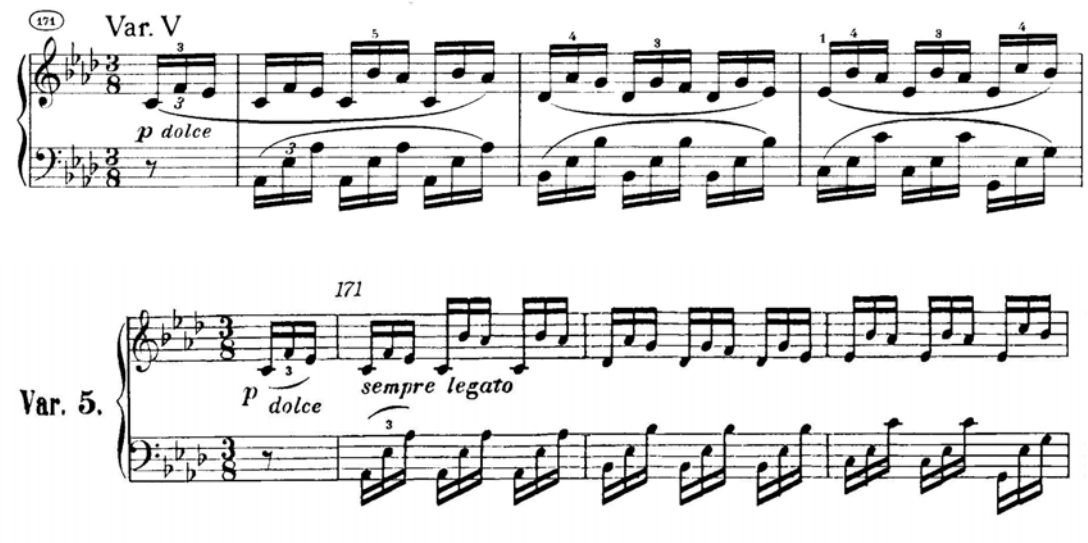
[122] This commentary has been translated to English by Paul Badura-Skoda. *Carl Czerny: On the Proper Performance of All Beethoven's Works for the Piano* (Wien: Universal Edition, 1970).
[123] This two-volume edition was first published by Ludwig Holle in Wolfenbüttel in 1857.
[124] Opus 26, Opus 27 no. 2, Op. 31 no. 2, Op. 57, Op. 90, Op. 101, Op. 106, Op. 109, Op. 110, and Op. 111.

OVERVIEW OF THE LISZT EDITION

As in other early editions, there are a great number of discrepancies such as phrasing, articulation, and the placements of dynamic markings in the Liszt edition. For instance, legato slurs are largely missing in comparison to the modern Henle edition.[125] The Italian term s*empre legato* frequently replaces the slurs. Other times the slurs were simply omitted (example 1). One cannot know for sure if Liszt is the one responsible for these modifications, or if it is the engraver's alteration. Sometimes engravers did not follow the exact indications which were written by the composers or editors. They might find an easier way to engrave certain passages such as the current example. The engravers might have replaced all the slurs with the term "*sempre legato*" to save themselves some work. This issue will be further discussed later in this chapter.

Example 1



Opus 26, 1st movement, mm. 171-173. Top: Henle edition Bottom: Liszt edition

[125] The Henle edition, in general, has been recognized as one of the most authoritative urtext editions. Therefore, the Henle edition of the complete Beethoven's piano sonatas servs as the means of comparisons to Beethoven's autograph in this study.

Liszt preserves most of Beethoven's pedal markings in his edition. He rarely adds his personal pedal indications. One can find both the Italian terms *senza sordino* (without damper) and *con sordino* (with damper) coexisting with the modern pedal markings ( and) in Beethoven's piano works. Among the ten piano sonatas of Liszt's edition, the Italian terminology was applied in both Opus 26 and Opus 27 no. 2 and the modern pedal marks were used in the remaining eight pieces. The phenomenon coincides with Beethoven's transition to employing the pedal indications over the years. Liszt did not alter them all to modern markings. As Sandra Rosenblum writes on the history of Beethoven's pedal markings:

> Beethoven retained his Italian terminology in the Bagatelles Op. 33, the "Eroica" Variations Op. 35, and the Concerto Op. 37, even though he did not complete the solo part of the Concerto until probably June or July 1804. The first work in which the new indications are known to be from Beethoven's hand is the "Kreutzer" Sonata for Violin and Piano Op. 47, which was ready for the publisher by 11 December 1803. Beethoven entered the signs himself in the Finale of the engraver's copy.[126]

On the other hand, it also might well have been that Liszt ignored editing the works. The phenomenon can be observed especially among the earlier sonatas. As Newman states, "he [Liszt] seems to have treated the first twenty-nine sonatas perfunctorily, for the most part simply passing the original editions on to the publisher to be re-engraved under Liszt's name as editor."[127]

The most prominent differences between the Liszt and Henle editions of the sonatas are mostly in the placements of dynamic markings and slurs. The Liszt edition, in general, provides more dynamic instructions than the Henle edition. These additional

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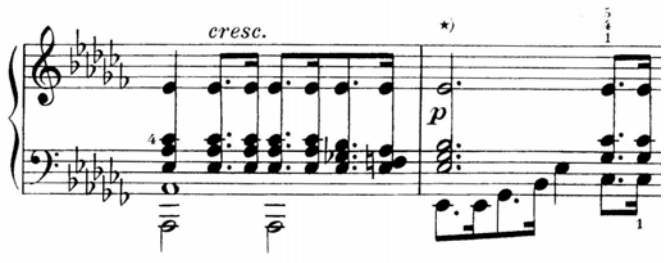
[126] Sandra Rosenblum, *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988), 118.
[127] Newman, "Liszt's Interpreting," 202.

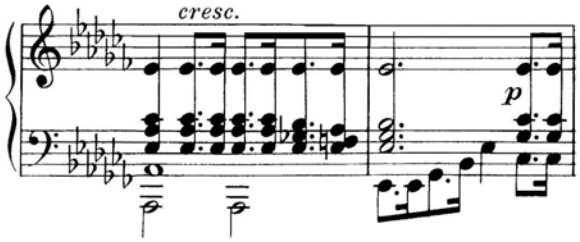
markings might reflect the dramatic personality and performance style of Liszt. Among them, only some markings are believed to be added by Liszt. Most of these markings were probably adopted from other early editions. No matter whose ideas these additional markings are, they certainly supply more color in the music.

Occasionally, Liszt alters some of Beethoven's markings in order to regulate them. Sometimes Beethoven wrote dynamics rather inconsistently throughout his composition. The "Funeral March" of the A-flat major piano sonata Opus 26 is probably one of the finest examples of this kind. Parallel passages excerpted from the exposition and recapitulation sections in the Henle are shown in example 2 side by side. Beethoven applies different dynamics to the same music in the different sections. It may be the composer's intention to use different dynamic markings on parallel passages. However, it certainly causes confusion and leads to various interpretations. Liszt's adjustments provide one of the possible solutions.

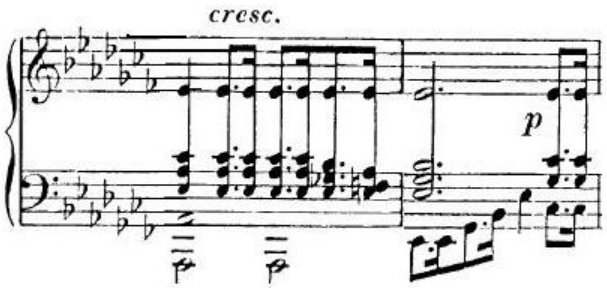
Example 2



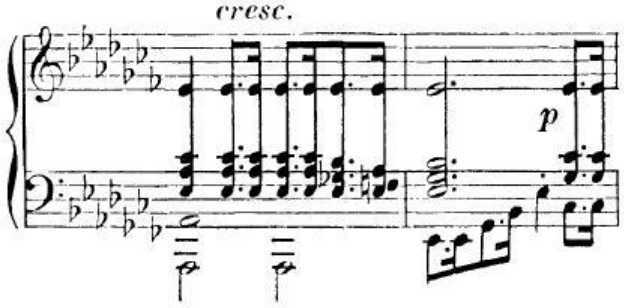
Opus 26, 3rd movement, mm. 5-6, Henle edition



Opus 26, 3rd movement, mm. 43-44, Henle edition



Opus 26, 3rd movement, mm. 5-6, Liszt edition



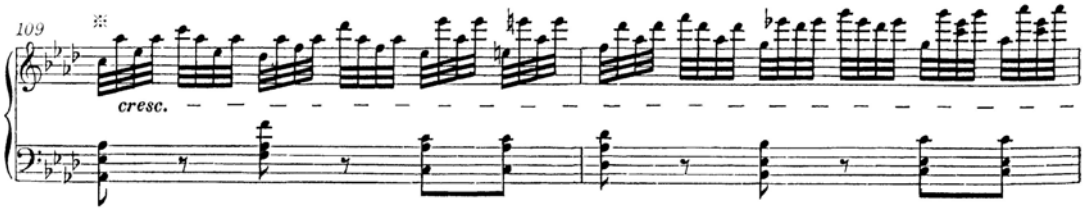
Opus 26, 3rd movement, mm. 43-44, Liszt edition

As mentioned in chapter three, Liszt was famous for taking liberties with the music in order to meet the concertgoer's taste. However, most of the adjustments he made were to the dynamic and articulation markings. Occasionally Liszt would change more in performances. For example, according to Berlioz, he once performed the entire first movement of Beethoven's piano sonata Opus 26 on an organ and, another time,

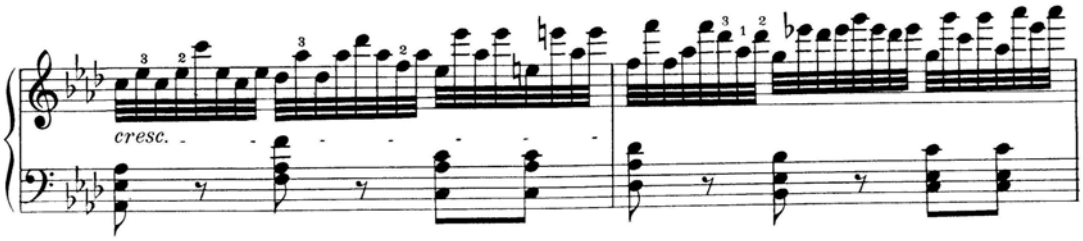
combined this movement with the third movement of Opus 27 no. 2.[128] Even though Liszt preferred to render the music freely, it is noteworthy that he tended to keep Beethoven's original writing in his edition. In a letter written in 1879, Liszt told Lebert, "As a matter of course I have not altered a single note of Beethoven's original version."[129] In fact, Liszt did alter Beethoven's notes when he felt it necessary. Example 3 shows mm. 109-110 in the first movement of Opus 110 taken from the Liszt edition and the parallel passage in the Henle edition. One can see that Liszt makes a minor alteration in the right hand. He adds notes to give the harmonies a fuller sound. Liszt seemed to imply that he has found a place where "Beethoven's intentions" need strengthening—or that he, as Beethoven's heir, understands Beethoven better than Beethoven did.

[128] Ibid., 193.
[129] Ibid., 202.

Example 3



Opus 110, 1st movement, mm. 109-110, Liszt edition



Opus 110, 1st movement, mm. 109-110, Henle edition

When I first began to study Liszt's edition, I expected to find his personal fingerings, pedaling, and metronome markings. As William Newman points out, "Especially from about 1860, when a precipitate blossoming of new editions began to appear, it became a point of honor for every celebrated performer or teacher to have edited his own 'neue revidierte Ausgabe' and for every publisher to have issued such an edition."[130] It seems reasonable to me that Liszt would put in his personal instructions. In addition to the Beethoven edition, Liszt also edited the works of his contemporary composers such as Chopin and Schubert in the 1870s.[131] The Schubert and Chopin editions were both heavily edited. Liszt sometimes would re-compose the music and insert it in his edition. However, Liszt did not provide many of his suggestions in his

130 William Newman, "A Chronicle Checklist of Collected Editions of Beethoven's Solo Piano Sonatas Since His Own Day," *Notes*, 33 (1977), 507.
131 Walker, *Reflection on Liszt*, 175.

Beethoven edition as his did with his other editions. Why did Liszt not add more of his own personal instructions to his edition? A look at Liszt's teaching style might provide a clue.

Liszt was, among other things, one of the most prominent piano teachers of his generation. However, unlike other ordinary pedagogues, Liszt had no method, no system, and little technical advice to offer his students.[132] One of his more famous students, Amy Fay, states, "He doesn't tell you anything about the technique. *That* you must work out for yourself."[133] According to his students, Liszt would emphasize the spirit of the music rather than technique. Fay continues: "That is the way Liszt teaches you. He presents an *idea* to you, and it takes fast hold of your mind and sticks there."[134] William Mason, who studied with Liszt from 1853 to 1854, recalls Liszt's method of teaching in his book *Memories of a Musical Life*:

> He never taught in the ordinary sense of the word. During the entire time that I was with him I did not see him give a regular lesson in the pedagogical sense. He would notify us to come up to the Altenburg. For instance, he would say to me, "Tell the boys to come up to-night at half-past six or seven." We would go there, and he would call on us to play. …
>
> After I was well started he began to get excited. He made audible suggestions, inciting me to put more enthusiasm into my playing, and occasionally he would push me gently off the chair and sit down at the piano and play a phrase or two himself by way of illustration. He gradually got me worked up to such a pitch of enthusiasm that I put all the grit that was in me into my playing.[135]

Liszt believed in preserving artistic individuality.[136] He wanted his students to imitate

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132 Walker, "Liszt", *New Grove Dictionary*, XIV: 780.
133 As quoted in Hedley, "Liszt the Pianist," 33.
134 Amy Fay, *Music Study in Germany*, 11th ed. (Chicago: A. C. McClure & Company, 1888), 223.
135 William Mason, *Memories of a Musical Life* (New York: The Century Co., 1901), 98.
136 Walker, "Liszt," *New Grove Dictionary*, XIV: 780.

him as little as possible, which may be why he applied so few of his personal markings in the edition. On the other hand, Liszt probably, as well, attempted to preserve the originality of the music written by Beethoven—his *Eternal Hero*.

PIANO SONATA NO. 12 IN A-FLAT MAJOR, OPUS 26

Now let us turn to some specific examples to illustrate Liszt's role as an editor. Beethoven's Opus 26 was first published in 1802 in Vienna by Giovanni Cappi. It consists of four movements in an unexpected order: the first movement is a theme and variations; a scherzo and trio is introduced in the second movement; a melancholy slow funeral march serves as the third movement; and the last movement is a contrapuntal rondo. According to Charles Suttoni, Liszt performed this A-flat major sonata frequently during his later concert tours.[137]

Example 4 illustrates mm. 91 to 92 of the first movement as shown in the Henle, Liszt, and von Bülow-Lebert editions respectively.[138] One can see that the first chord in the right hand in m. 92 is not the same among these editions. In Henle, the harmonic progression goes from a second inversion of V to a diminished seventh of VI in m. 91 and is directly resolved to VI in the following measure. However, the diminished seventh chord does not directly resolve to VI in m. 92 in the Liszt edition. The f_2 is sustained and revolved to e_2 in the following sixteenth note. One can also find the same progression in the von Bülow-Lebert edition. We do not know how this mistake

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[137] Charles Suttoni, trans. and annot., *An Artist's Journey* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 141n. In addition, see Michael Saffle, *Liszt in Germany 1840-1845* (NY: Pendragon Press, 1994) for comprehensive survey of Liszt's performance repertories in Germany.

[138] Hans von Bülow was one of Liszt's most famous students and also an important Beethoven performer during the nineteenth century. Von Bülow and Sigmund Lebert together edited the complete Beethoven piano sonatas and published them in five volumes in 1871. Von Bülow's close relationship with Liszt suggests that his Beethoven edition may be held as one of the best sources for revealing how Liszt may have performed these master pieces.

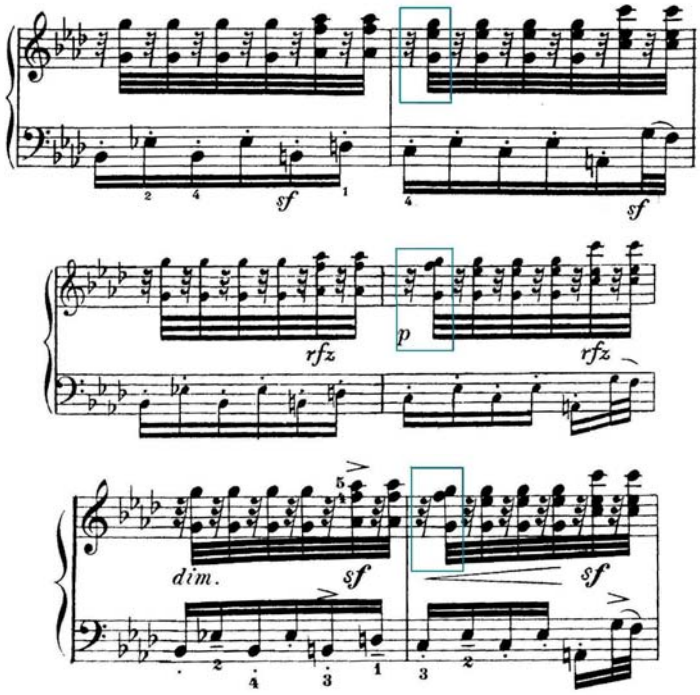
occurred. Accordingly, we can assume that this misprint was widely circulated in the nineteenth century and was not corrected until the appearance of Urtext editions approximately two decades after World War I.[139]

Example 4

Henle

Liszt

Von Bülow-Lebert



Opus 26, 1st movement, mm. 91-92

Despite the lack of his personal markings, Liszt delineates every musical idea using capital letters above the staff. These are meant to show the structure of the work and Liszt's pedagogical intention in the edition. For example, the third movement is in ABA ternary form. Liszt, using capital letters, divides the A section into four phrases: mm. 1-8, 9-16, 17-20, and 21-30. However, one can only find such sectional markings in the first A section. Liszt did not mark off the second A section as one might expect.

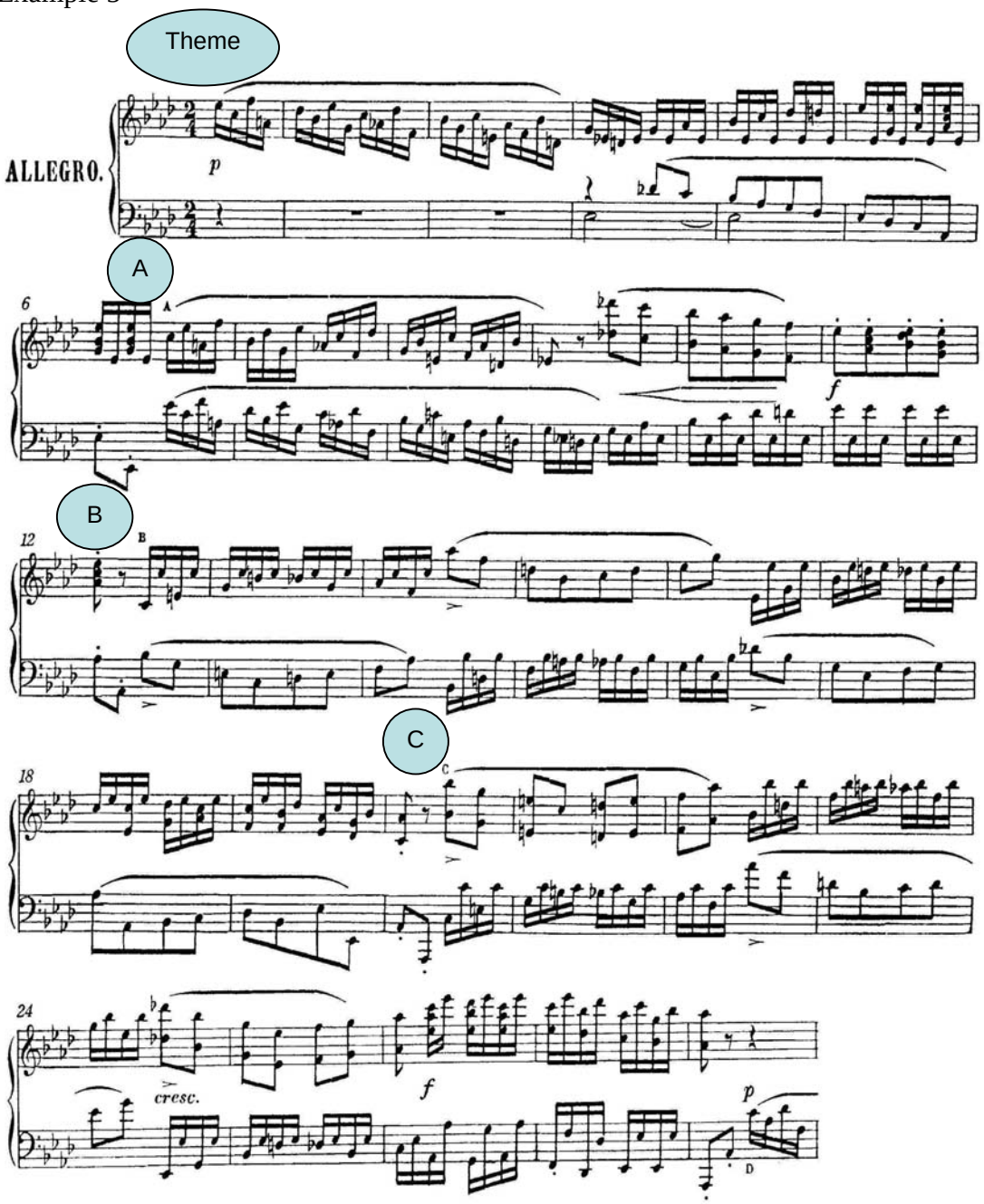
[139] Newman, "Checklist," 507.

One might argue that this is due to Liszt's poor editorial skills. However, we can also observe the same phenomenon in the fourth movement.

The finale is a rondo movement (A-B-A-C-A-B'-Coda). The sectional markings in the Liszt edition help to organize the various musical ideas that the movement contains. Example 5 is the first "A" section (mm.1-28). Liszt identifies three ideas in this section besides the theme (A, B, and C). The "A" section comes back in m. 52, which Liszt marks as G (example 6) and m. 100 which Liszt marks as I in example 7. Therefore, after its first appearance, Liszt only marks off the re-entries of the "A" section. The secondary sections are not marked off as they are in the first A section. According to the two examples above, we can assume that it is Liszt's intention to omit editing the repeated section. It is not a mistake as one might expect. Liszt probably thought it was self-explanatory.

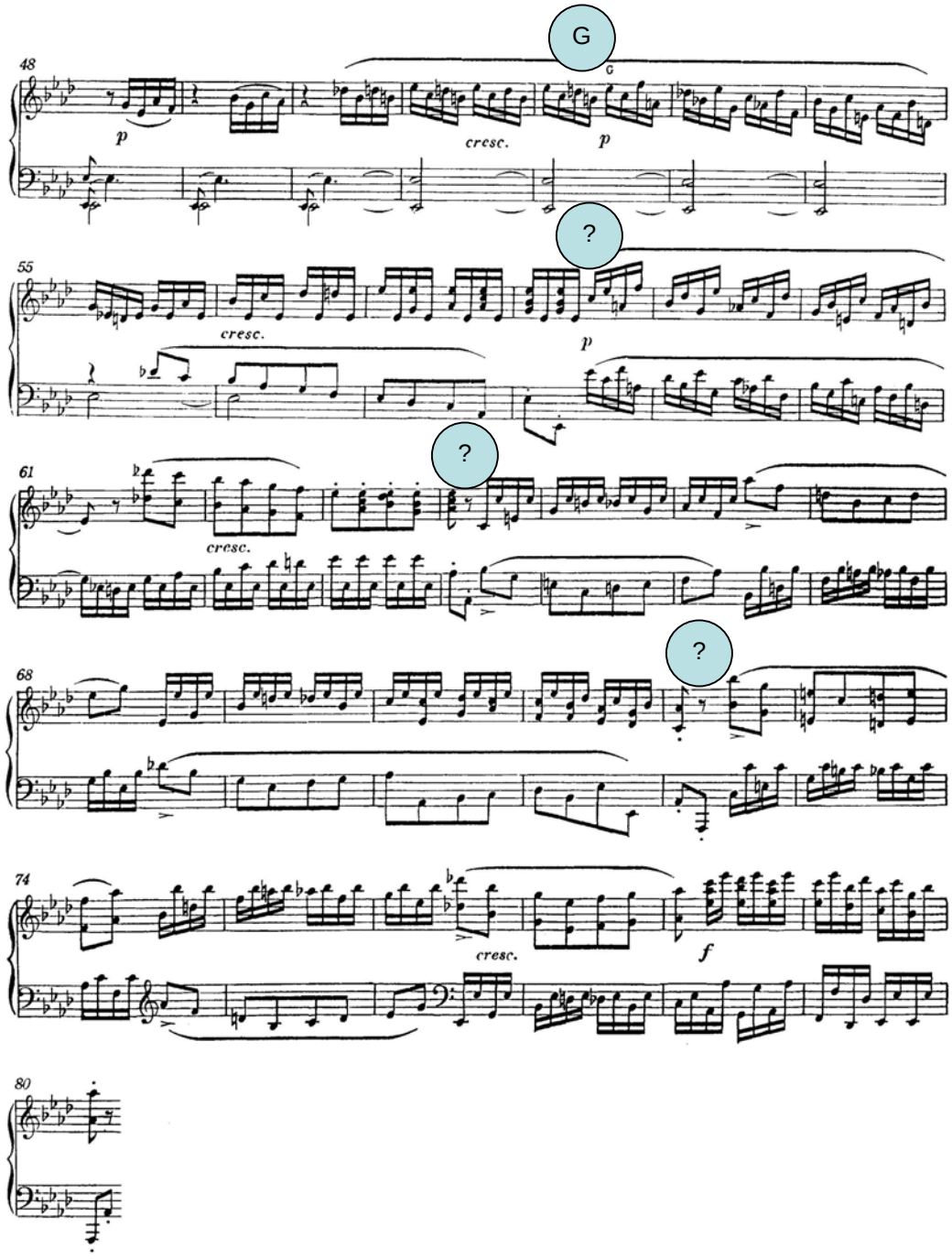
Opus 26 was one of Liszt's major solo works and he performed it frequently on a variety of occasions. It is surprising to see that Liszt was not more opinionated about a work which he had studied thoroughly. Perhaps the explanation is pedagogical—yet no matter what the explanation might be, it is a great loss not to be able to study his performance practice in further detail.

Example 5



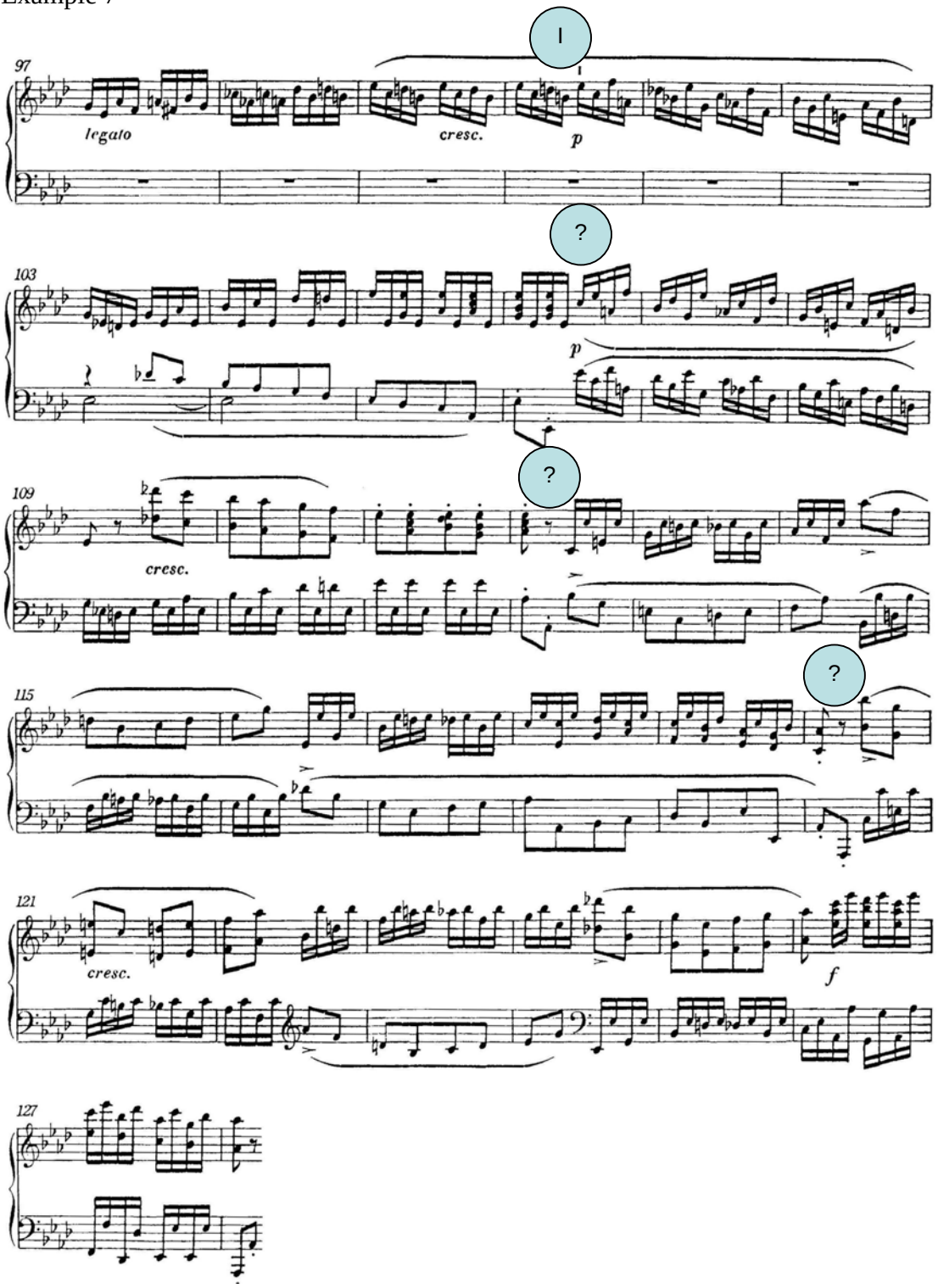
Opus 26, 4th movement, mm. 1-28, Liszt edition

Example 6



Opus 26, 4th movement, mm. 48-80, Liszt edition

Example 7



Opus 26, 4th movement, mm. 97-128, Liszt edition

PIANO SONATA NO. 14 IN C-SHARP MINOR, OPUS 27 NO.2

This piano sonata is widely known as the *Moonlight* sonata.[140] It was first published in 1802 by Giovanni Cappi in Vienna and instantly became one of the most famous piano works during the composer's life time.[141] The first problem one might encounter when studying the early editions of this sonata is the time signature. According to Charles Rosen, "In the nineteenth century, several editions misprinted the time signature of this [first] movement as C, and it is often taken at too slow a pace."[142] Such a mistake in time signature may seem impossible to the modern standard. However, divergence like this was not unusual at Liszt's time. It suggests that the public might have a different musical view of this work at the time.

The *Moonlight* sonata probably was, among other solo piano works by Beethoven, Liszt's favorite piece to perform.[143] There are numerous concert reviews regarding Liszt's performance of this work. However, one can barely see his input in his editing. For instance, Beethoven wanted the first movement to be played very delicately and with pedal throughout the whole movement (*si deve suonare tutto questo pezzo delicatissimamente e senza sordina*). The construction of the piano was undergoing a rapid change at the time. There is no doubt that Liszt's piano was bigger and had a much richer resonance than Beethoven's instruments. Beethoven's pedaling may have no longer worked on the pianos of Liszt's time. Czerny, in his essay, had already addressed this issue and suggested an alternative pedaling.[144] It is disappointing that

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[140] Beethoven did not name the work. A German poet and music critic Ludwig Rellstab described the music of the first movement as the moonlight shining on the Lake Lucerne hence the nickname. See John Burk, *The Life and Works of Beethoven* (NY: Random House, 1943), 425.

[141] Georg Kinsky & Hans Halm, *Das Werk Beethovens: Thematisch-Bibliographisches Verzeichnis* (München-Duisburg: Henle, 1955), 67.

[142] Charles Rosen, *Beethoven's Piano Sonatas: A Short Companion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 156.

[143] Newman, "Liszt's Interpreting", 192.

[144] Badura-Skoda, *Carl Czerny*, 39.

Liszt does not leave any pedaling suggestions. Perhaps Liszt was trying to preserve Beethoven's original thoughts. As Rosen pointed out, the *Moonlight* sonata [especially the first movement] is "a unique essay in tone colour," in which the pedal is meant to be held throughout the entire movement "with half changes and delayed changes of pedal".[145] However, it could just as well have been Liszt's irresponsibility to merely pass an early edition to the publisher and republish it under his own name.

PIANO SONATA NO. 17 IN D MINOR, OPUS 31 NO. 2

There are three sonatas published under Opus 31. The first two sonatas once appeared as Opus 29 published by Nägeli in Zurich and the third as Opus 33.[146] Therefore, Liszt probably knew the work Opus 31 no.2 as Opus 29 no. 2 for this reason. One can still see it on the title page of his edition (example 8). In contrast to the *Moonlight* sonata, Liszt heavily edited this D minor sonata. His suggestions include dynamics, pedal markings, articulations, and musical expressions.

Like many other early editions, there are numerous discrepancies in the Liszt edition. Some of them are Liszt's additional markings which seem to elucidate the structure of the music more clearly. For instance, the beginning of the first movement consists of two contrasting tempos and musical moods which give the music lots of drama and intensity. The tonic, however, is delayed and not introduced until m. 21 when the opening motif returns (example 9). In Henle, only a *forte* was applied for this seemingly important moment. An additional *sforzando* was applied to the first note of the motif in the bass in the Liszt edition, thus emphasizing the late arrival of the tonic. Liszt employed *sforzandi* to accentuate each first note of the same motif throughout the

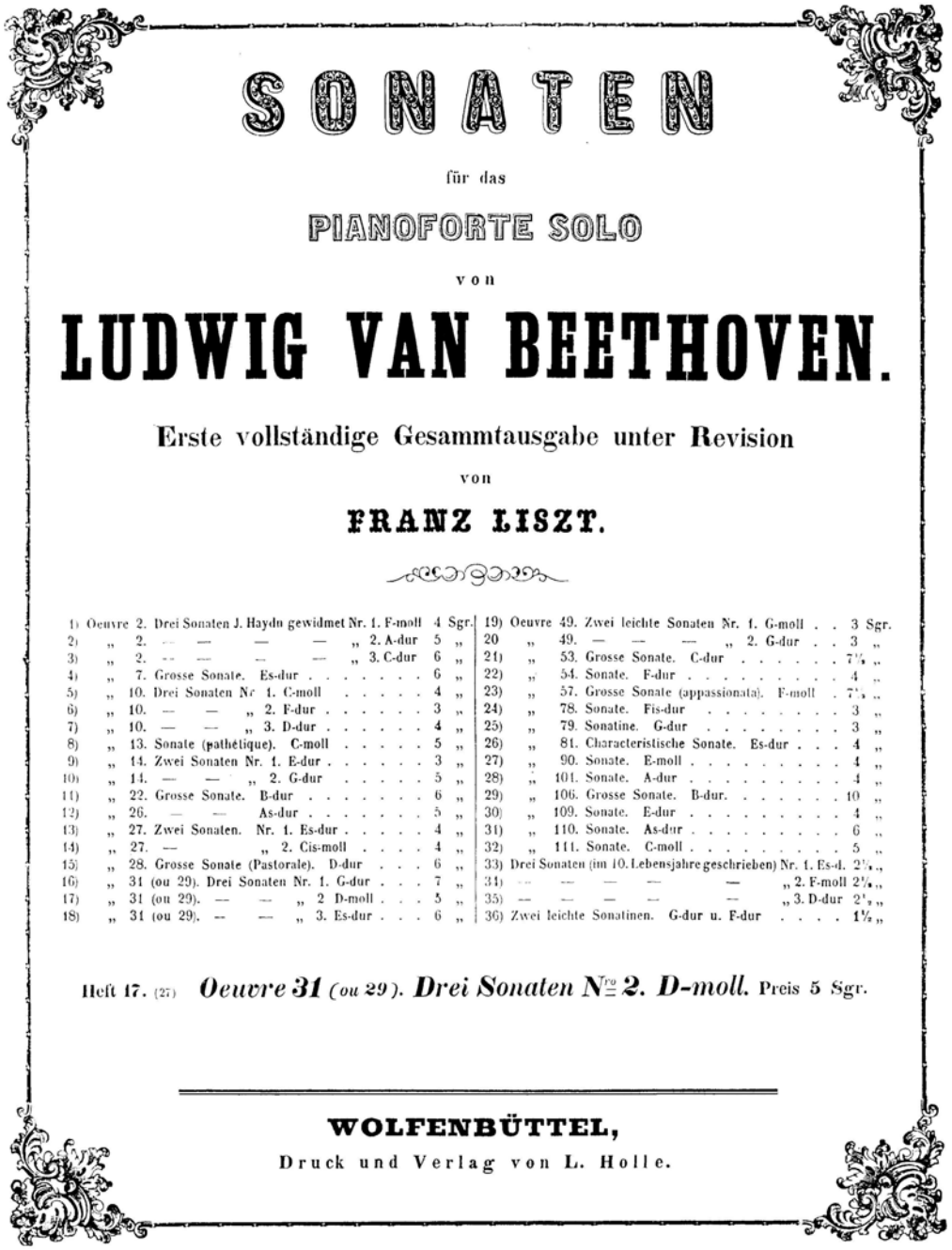
145 Rosen, *Beethoven*, 108.
146 Kinsky, *Das Werk*, 79.

entire movement. This not only reinforces the entrances of the thematic motive, but also further intensifies the dramatic character of the work.

The pedaling at the beginning of the recapitulation section is also modified. As the Henle edition shows in example 10, Beethoven applied a long pedal which spans the entire recitative section from mm. 144-148. Liszt shortens the pedal down to two measures (example 11). As I discussed earlier, Liszt's piano had more resonance than Beethoven's. Liszt probably changed the pedaling of this passage according to the much prolonged sound that his piano would deliver.

In the second movement, Liszt suggests a different articulation in the left hand in mm. 56-58 (example 12). The left hand has unmarked thirty-second notes in the Henle edition in this passage which suggests a separated articulation on each note. Liszt edited the bass with various different articulations. By adding additional slurs and staccato markings, Liszt creates a more colorful and interesting sounding passage.

Example 8



SONATEN

für das

PIANOFORTE SOLO

von

LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN.

Erste vollständige Gesammtausgabe unter Revision

von

FRANZ LISZT.

1)	Oeuvre	2.	Drei Sonaten J. Haydn gewidmet Nr. 1. F-moll	4	Sgr.	19) Oeuvre	49. Zwei leichte Sonaten Nr. 1. G-moll . . 3 Sgr.
2)	„	2.	— — — — „ 2. A-dur	5	„	20 „	49. — — — „ 2. G-dur . . 3 „
3)	„	2.	— — — — „ 3. C-dur	6	„	21) „	53. Grosse Sonate. C-dur . . . . . 7½ „
4)	„	7.	Grosse Sonate. Es-dur	6	„	22) „	54. Sonate. F-dur . . . . . 4 „
5)	„	10.	Drei Sonaten Nr 1. C-moll	4	„	23) „	57. Grosse Sonate (appassionata). F-moll . 7½ „
6)	„	10.	— — „ 2. F-dur	3	„	24) „	78. Sonate. Fis-dur . . . . . 3 „
7)	„	10.	— — „ 3. D-dur	4	„	25) „	79. Sonatine. G-dur . . . . . 3 „
8)	„	13.	Sonate (pathétique). C-moll	5	„	26) „	81. Characteristische Sonate. Es-dur . . . 4 „
9)	„	14.	Zwei Sonaten Nr. 1. E-dur	3	„	27) „	90. Sonate. E-moll . . . . . 4 „
10)	„	14.	— — „ 2. G-dur	5	„	28) „	101. Sonate. A-dur . . . . . 4 „
11)	„	22.	Grosse Sonate. B-dur	6	„	29) „	106. Grosse Sonate. B-dur. . . . . 10 „
12)	„	26.	— — As-dur	5	„	30) „	109. Sonate. E-dur . . . . . 4 „
13)	„	27.	Zwei Sonaten. Nr. 1. Es-dur	4	„	31) „	110. Sonate. As-dur . . . . . 6 „
14)	„	27.	— „ 2. Cis-moll	4	„	32) „	111. Sonate. C-moll . . . . . 5 „
15)	„	28.	Grosse Sonate (Pastorale). D-dur . . .	6	„	33)	Drei Sonaten (im 10. Lebensjahre geschrieben) Nr. 1. Es-d. 2½ „
16)	„	31	(ou 29). Drei Sonaten Nr. 1. G-dur . . .	7	„	34)	— — — — — „ 2. F-moll 2½ „
17)	„	31	(ou 29). — — „ 2 D-moll . . .	5	„	35)	— — — — — „ 3. D-dur 2½ „
18)	„	31	(ou 29). — — „ 3. Es-dur . . .	6	„	36)	Zwei leichte Sonatinen. G-dur u. F-dur . . . . 1½ „

Heft 17. (27) *Oeuvre 31 (ou 29). Drei Sonaten N^ro 2. D-moll.* Preis 5 Sgr.

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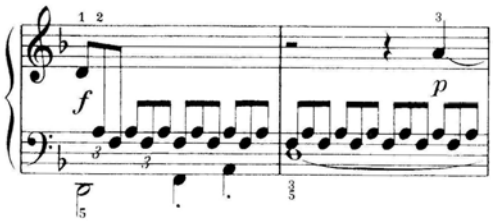
Druck und Verlag von L. Holle.

The cover of the piano sonata Opus 31 no. 2 of the Liszt edition.

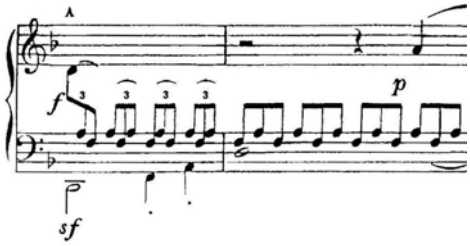
Opus 29 is written in parenthesis following Opus 31.

Example 9

Henle

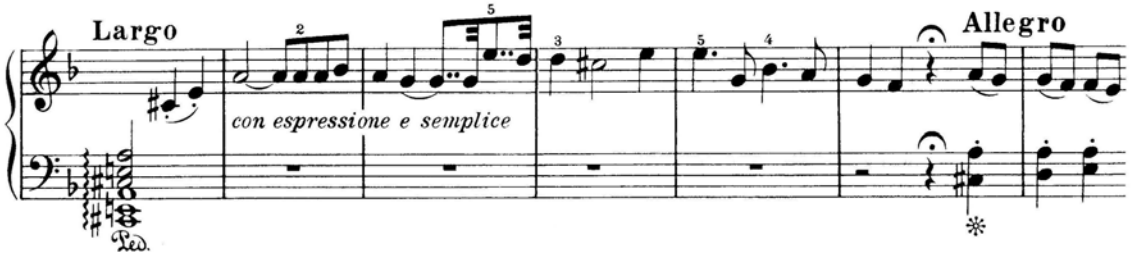


Liszt



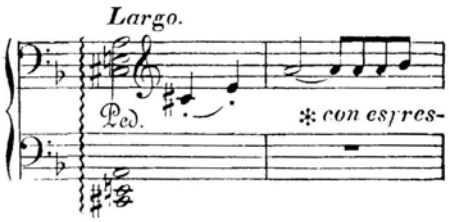
Opus 31 no. 2, 1st movement, mm. 21-22

Example 10



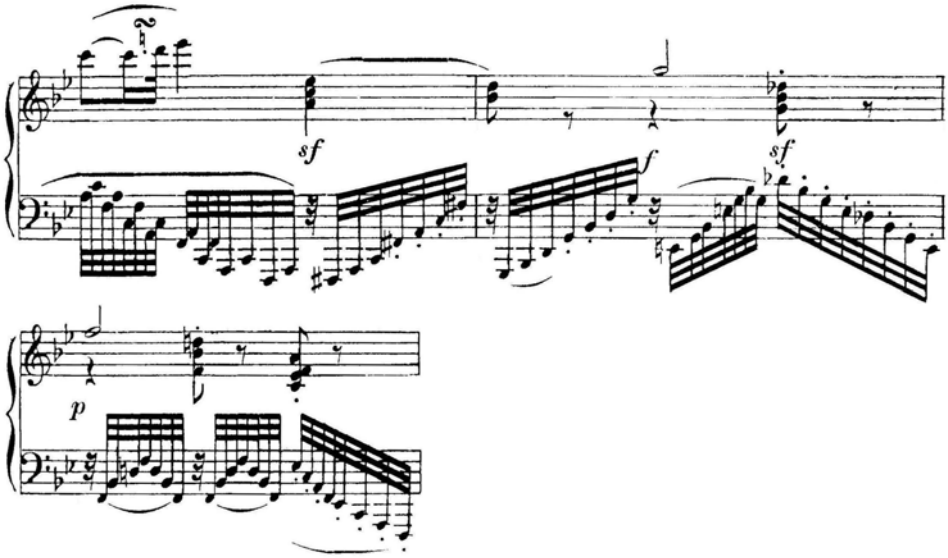
Opus 31 no. 2, 1st movement, mm. 143-149, Henle edition

Example 11



Opus 31 no. 2, 1st movement, mm. 143-144, Liszt edition

Example 12

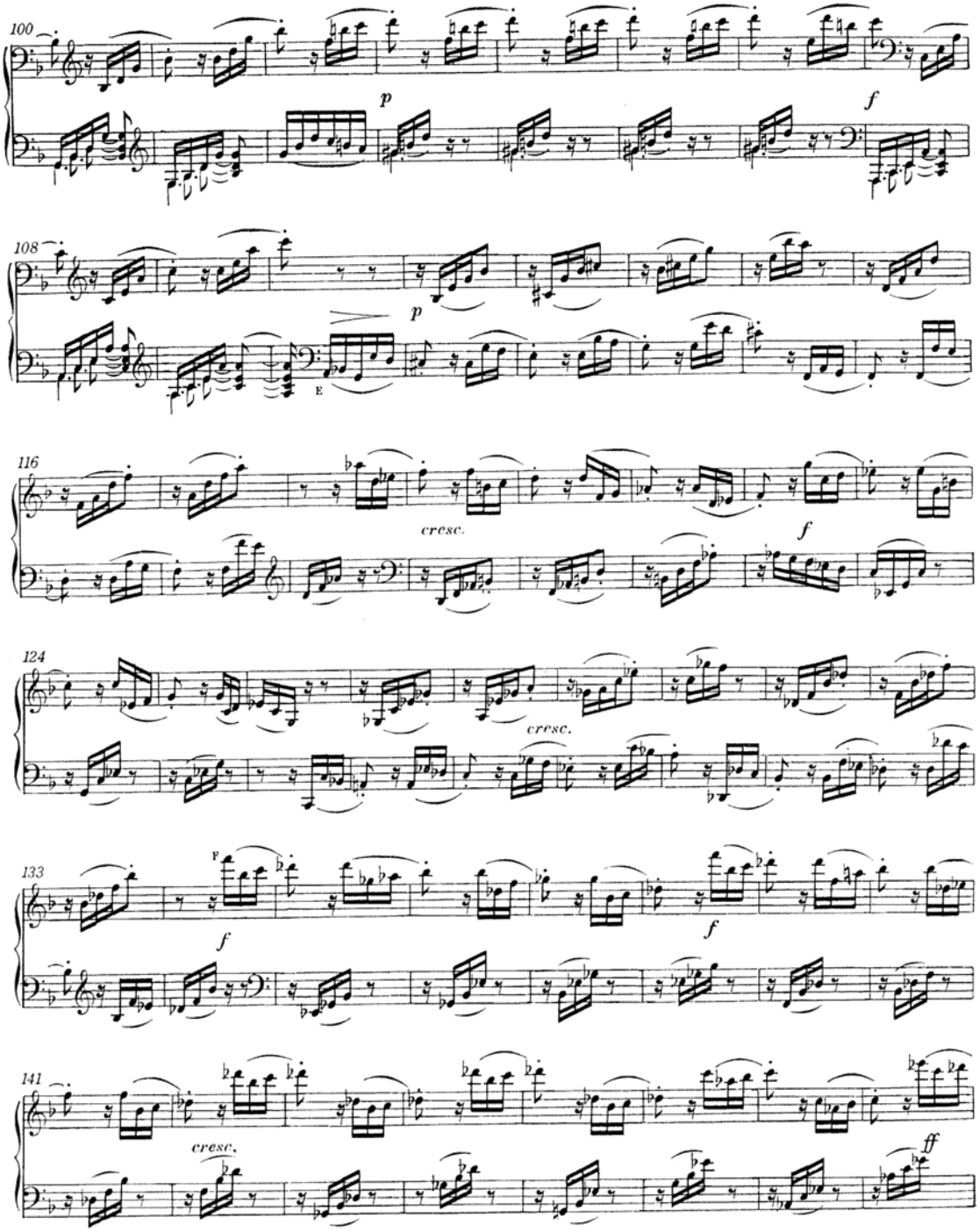


Opus 31 no. 2, 2nd movement, mm. 56-58, Liszt edition

Liszt does not ignore editing the finale of Opus 31 no. 2. The dynamic level stays at *forte* for a long period in the development section as shown in the Henle edition from mm. 107-148. Liszt fills in the blanks and adds his own dynamics (example 13). The music diminishes down to *piano* in m. 111 and then gradually builds up towards to *fortissimo* in m. 148.

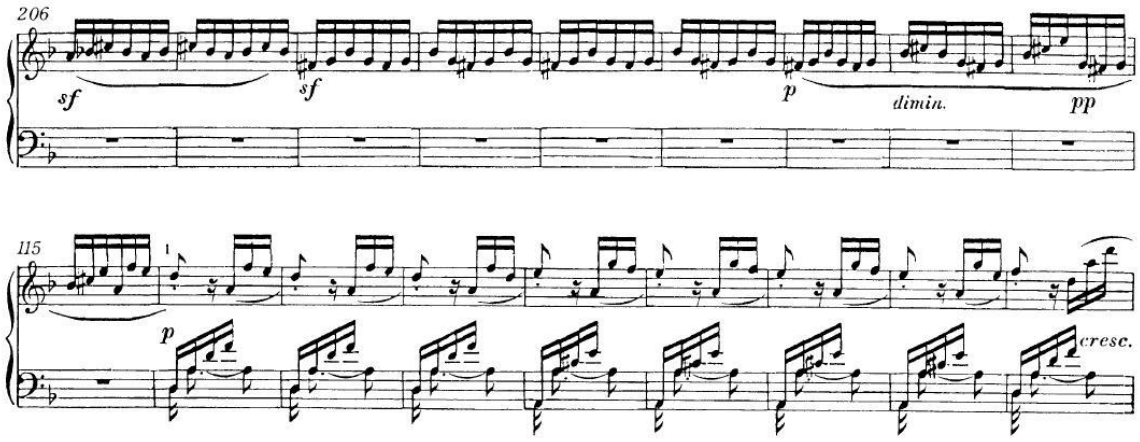
Opus 31 no.2 is probably one of the works to which Liszt lavished the most attention. However, it still contains evidence of careless publishing. In the last movement, the measure numbers are out of order from m. 215 to the end of the movement (example 14). It may be a clerical error and could have been prevented had the publisher cared to perform a thorough inspection before the printing process began.

Example 13



Opus 31 no. 2, 3rd movement, mm. 100-148, Liszt edition

Example 14



Opus 31 no. 2, 3rd movement, Liszt edition.

The measure number became 115 in m. 215. It was an easy accident to make. The mistake was not noticed and is carried through until the end of the movement.

PIANO SONATA NO. 23 IN F MINOR, OPUS 57

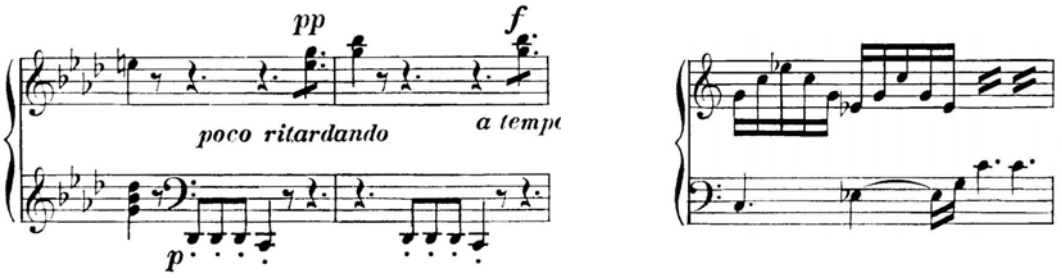
The piano sonata Opus 57 was first published in February 1807 by *Bureau des Arts et d'industrie* in Vienna. It was named *Appassionata* by the publisher without Beethoven's consent. Unlike other solo piano works, a rare tragic solemnity alternating with violent moods swings pervade much of this F minor sonata.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the engravers sometimes may have simplified certain passages in order to save some manual labor while engraving the plates. There are numerous simplified passages that can be found in the first movement of Opus 57. Repeated notes and figurations are employed throughout the movement. This could provide plenty of tiring petty work for the engravers.

Most of the simplified passages that are found in the first movement are only one

to two measures long (example 15). Mm. 130-143 is the longest passage which has been simplified in the entire movement (example 16).

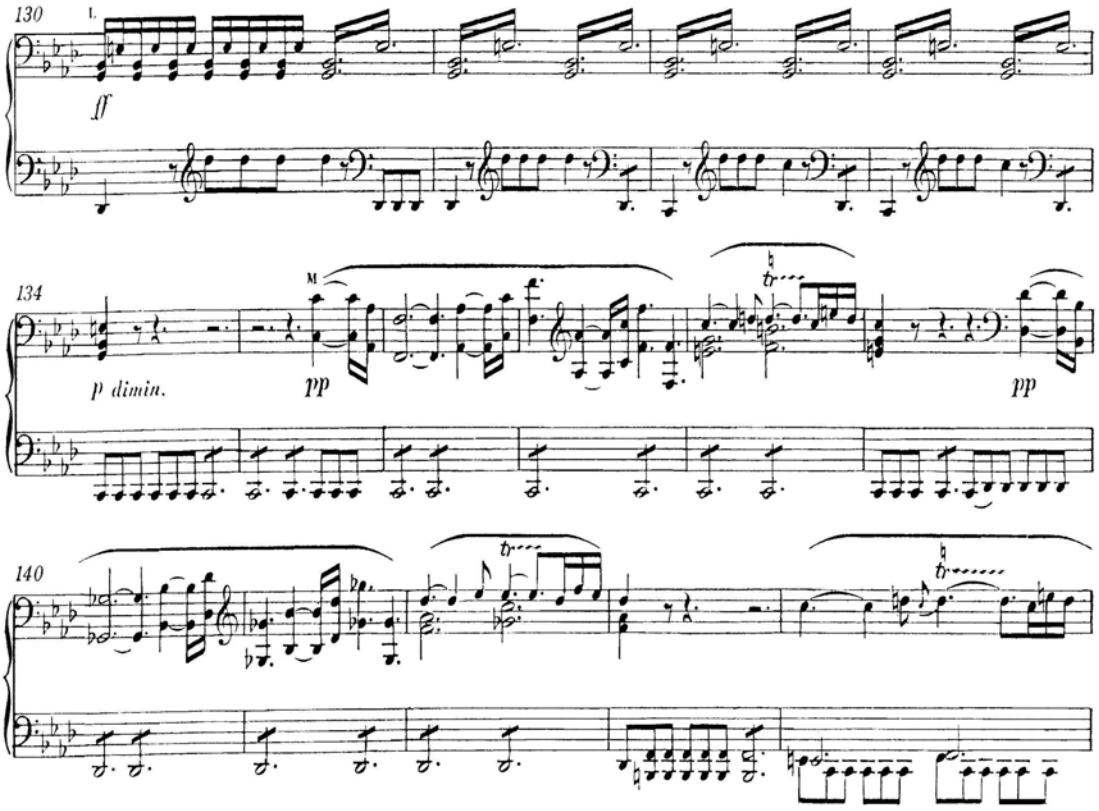
Example 15



mm. 12-13 m. 84

Opus 57, 1st movement, Liszt edition

Example 16



Opus 57, 1st movement, mm. 130-144, Liszt edition

As shown in the previous two examples, the simplified passages are mostly in repeated rhythmic patterns. It is easy to understand why the engravers might want to simplify these passages. However, if one examines those examples closely, one will find that these simplifications are irregular. For instance, as shown in example 15, the engravers simplified the repeated eighth notes in the right hand in mm. 12-13 but left the same repeated patterns in the left hand untouched. Furthermore, some repeated eighth notes in example 16 in the left hand are simplified, but some are left untouched. It seems that the engravers did not have a clear guideline to follow during the engraving process.

Liszt's sectional markings are perhaps the most significant characteristic of his edition. He uses letter markings to identify different musical ideas contained in the works and to help people to gain a better understanding of Beethoven's masterpieces. Among Beethoven's earlier works, the first movement of Opus 57 is relatively intricate. Various musical ideas are tightly knit together and create this profound music. Liszt uses letters A to Z to indicate the different elements presented in this movement. Their corresponding elements are listed in the following table.[147]

[147] The analytical terminology is adopted from Tovey's analysis of this movement; Donald Francis Tovey, *A Companion to Beethoven's Pianoforte Sonatas*, rev. ed. (London: ABRSM Publishing, 1998), 170-174.

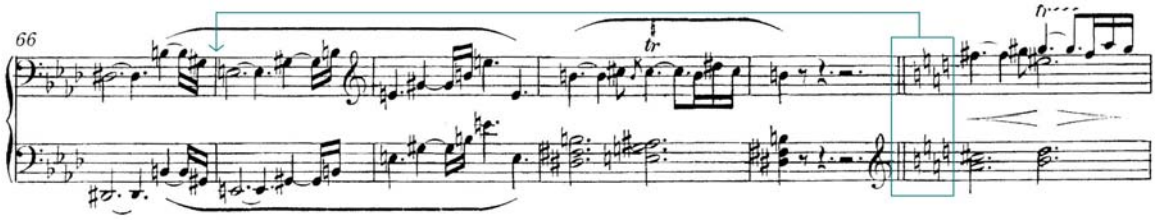
Table 1 Liszt's presentation of form for Opus 57, 1st movement

[Exposition]		
A	m. 16	Counterstatement of the [first] theme
B	m. 24	Dominant preparation for iii
C	m. 35	New [second] theme
D	m. 51	New theme in iii
E	m. 61	Cadence theme
[Development]		
F	m. 65	The first theme [A] in F-flat major
G	m. 78	The first theme [A] in E minor on bass
H	m. 94	Element B in dominant of D-flat major
I	m. 105	Entirely new figure on bass which is imitated by the treble
J	m. 109	Element C in D-flat major
K	m. 123	Diminished 7th in arpeggios entirely void of any theme
L	m. 130	Preparation for the re-entrance of element A
[Recapitulation]		
M	m. 135	The first theme [A] returns
N	m. 151	Counterstatement in tonic major
O	m. 163	Element B in tonic
P	m. 174	Element C in F major
Q	m. 190	Element D in F minor
R	m. 200	Element E in A-flat major
[Coda]		
S	m. 203	Descending figure on bass leading back to the first theme [A]
T	m. 210	Element B in D-flat major (VI)
U	m. 218	Ascending arpeggios interrupts the melody
V	m. 227	Arpeggio reached its high point and started to descend
W	m. 235	4 measures of dominant chord sustained by the pedal
X	m. 239	*Piu Allegro,* element B in tonic minor
Y	m. 249	Self-repeated chords closing into a final tonic chord
Z	m. 257	The first theme enters in tonic minor to conclude the whole movement

As shown in table 1, Liszt identifies twenty-six musical elements in the current movement, including the primary and secondary themes, transition, as well as the changes in the figuration. The analysis may be straightforward and does not tell us much about the global structure of the composition. It nevertheless illustrates Liszt's understanding of the work.

In the Henle edition, a new key signature is introduced in m. 67, immediately after the development section starts in m. 66. However, the key change is not introduced until m. 71 in Liszt's edition (example 17).

Example 17



Opus 57, 1st movement, mm. 67-71, Liszt edition. The key change happens on m. 67 in the Henle edition as the arrow points in the example.

Liszt places a letter marking "F" at m. 65 in order to declare the new musical element. If the new key signature was inserted in m. 66 as printed in the Henle edition, the element "F" might be disturbed and less appreciated. Liszt probably intended to preserve the unity of the element "F" by relocating the new key signature to m. 71.

One may wonder where Beethoven meant for the new key signature to be inserted and if it can be moved without the composer's consent. We may never know Liszt's impulse for relocating the key signature. Is it for a musical reason? Or did Liszt just copy it from other editions? No matter what the reason might be, this phenomenon also can be found in Opus 106, which is discussed later in the chapter.

PIANO SONATA NO. 27 IN E MINOR, OPUS 90

Opus 90 was first published by S. A. Steiner in 1815 and dedicated to Moritz Lichnowsky (1771-1837), Beethoven's long-time patron and friend. Beethoven exclusively applied German descriptive indications to replace Italian tempo markings in this two-movement sonata. He was probably influenced by the German Chauvinism to reject foreign linguistic elements. The word "Hammerklavier" was invented to replace the customary term "Fortepiano" years later in correspondence of the movement.[148]

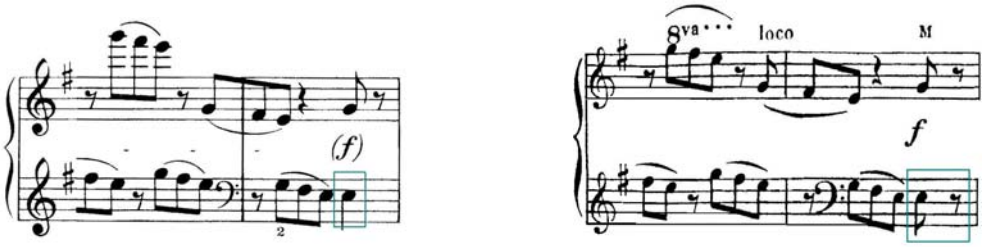
Determining the appropriate tempi for Beethoven's solo piano compositions is always a difficult subject for both scholars and performers. Czerny was one of the earliest pianists who attempted to employ metronome markings in Beethoven's piano works. Among the ten sonatas that Liszt had studied for public performance, he only provides metronome markings for the following three pieces: Opus 90, Opus 101, and Opus 106. The tempi that Liszt suggests for the two movements of Opus 90 respectively are quarter note equals 160 and 92.

The letter Beethoven wrote to Sigmund Anton Steiner in 1815 indicated that Beethoven had carefully corrected the sonata Opus 90 and sent it to Steiner.[149] However, there still exist a few questionable places in the editions. For instance, as shown in example 18, the notation on the third beat in the bass of m. 143 is different in the Henle and Liszt editions. Moreover, as one can see in m. 61 (example 19), Liszt's edition has an eighth rest at the beginning of the measure while the Henle has an eighth-note b_1 at the same place. The publisher may have disregarded Beethoven's corrections and not amended the errors in the plate. Perhaps Liszt's source copy of this sonata is a less credible pirated copy. Or, possibly, Beethoven is the one who is responsible for this

148 Tovey, *Companion*, 198.
149 Emily Anderson, ed. and trans., *The Letters of Beethoven*, 3 vols. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1961), II: 513.

error.

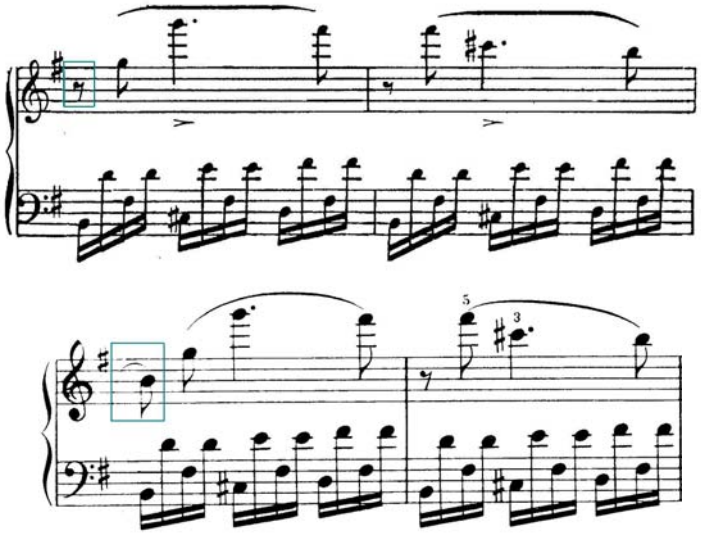
Example 18



Henle Liszt

Opus 90, 1st movement, mm. 142-143

Example 19



Opus 90, 1st movement, mm. 61-62, Liszt edition

Opus 90, 1st movement, mm. 61-62, Henle edition

Liszt makes several adjustments in the second movement, most of which are additional articulation marks in the left hand. As in example 20, Liszt applied *legato* to the bass in mm. 8 and 60, which seems to reinforce the lyrical character of the current movement (*Nicht zu geschwind und sehr singbar vorgetragen*). In m. 24 of the Henle

edition, no articulation is applied in the left hand. Liszt added staccato markings in the descending E major scale in the bass, which changes the character of the music. It also highlights the return of the theme at m. 25 (example 21).

Liszt also altered some notes in the current movement. According to the autograph, the first notes in m. 45 in the right hand are F-sharp and B. Liszt changed them to a B octave (example 22). Another place that has been altered by Liszt is m. 184, where he changed the last chord in the measure (example 23). Liszt's alteration seems to have a musical reason. If we examine these two examples together, they are actual parallel passages. The passages are irregular in the Henle edition. Liszt's change regulated them (example 24).

Opus 90 is one of the smaller compositions among the thirty-two piano sonatas. It consists of two contrasting movements. As Tovey states, "the whole point of the sonata lies in the contrast between a movement full of passionate and lonely energy and a movement devoted to the utmost luxuriance of lyric melodies developed in Rondo form."[150]

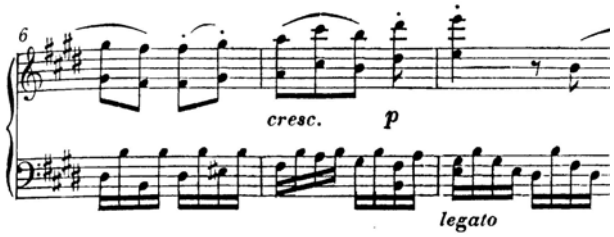
It may be surprising to some to see this E minor sonata listed on Liszt's performance repertory list. According to his performing strategy, Liszt usually chose the works which would allow him to show off his superb keyboard technique and musicianship. Opus 90 does not provide much technical challenge and may be one of the pieces that Liszt performed less frequently.

Nevertheless, he did not overlook this work. He provided metronome markings to both movements and some of the additional markings found in the second movement are believed to be Liszt's personal markings. They not only reinforce the character of the music, but also help to reveal the musical structure. Overall, these personal

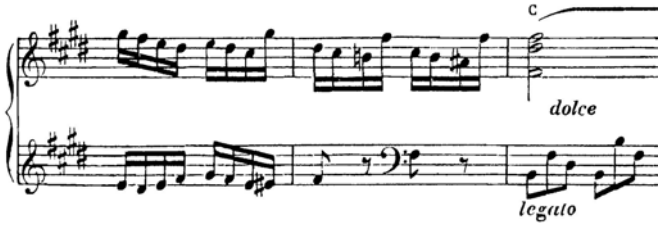
[150] Tovey, *Companion*, 198.

markings throughout the movements may be seen to illustrate his penetrative understanding of this sonata.

Example 20



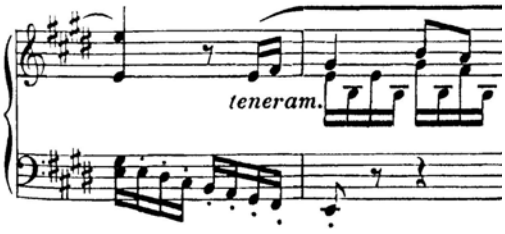
mm. 6-8



mm. 58-60

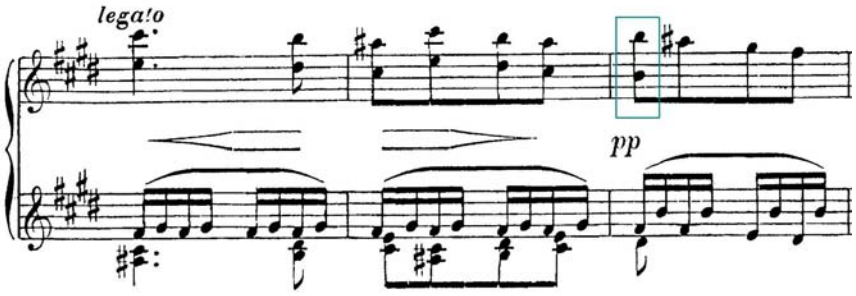
Opus 90, 2nd movement, Liszt edition

Example 21



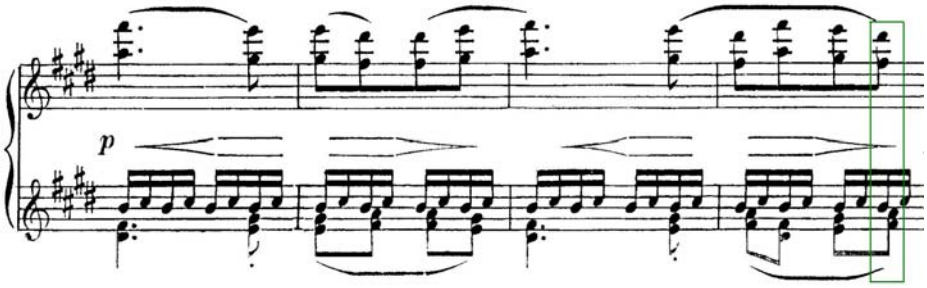
Opus 90, 2nd movement, mm. 24-25, Liszt edition

Example 22



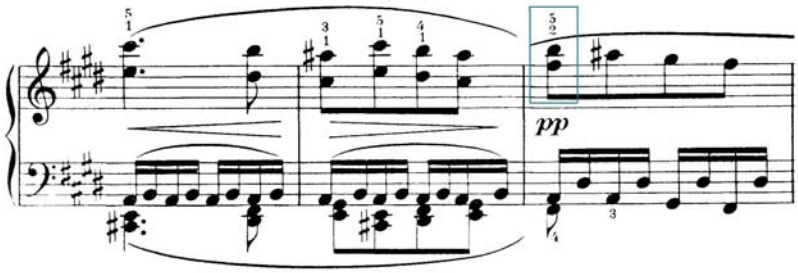
Opus 90, 2nd movement, mm. 43-45, Liszt edition

Example 23

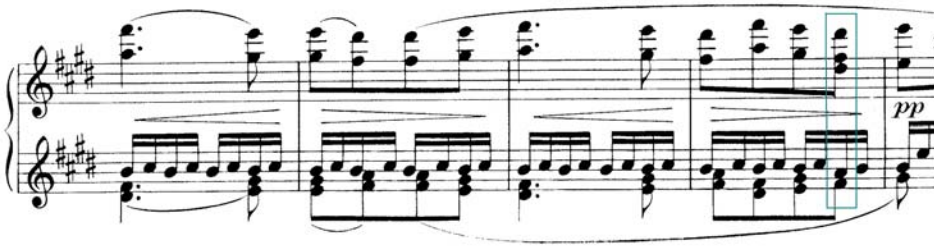


Opus 90, 2nd movement, mm. 181-184, Liszt edition

Example 24



Opus 90, 2nd movement, mm. 43-45, Henle edition



Opus 90, 2nd movement, mm. 181-184, Henle edition

PIANO SONATA NO. 28 IN A MAJOR OPUS 101

According to William Newman, "Liszt's 'editing' of the last three sonatas in the Holle edition, Opera 109, 110, and 111, does show more concern—in fact, there are many meticulous refinements of details in the dynamics, accents, articulation, phrasing, and pedaling."[151] Apparently—and unfortunately—Liszt does not appear to want to inject too many of his own personal suggestions while editing this Beethoven edition. However, Opus 101 allows us to study Liszt's insight into Beethoven's works from another angle.

The attitude towards tempo was shifting during Beethoven's time. It had became more and more individualized rather than attached to the traditional criteria—a

[151] Newman, "Liszt's Interpreting," 203.

combination of meter, tempo categories, and note values.[152] For Beethoven, the traditional tempo markings had become more and more inefficient for his music. He constantly looked for new tempo indications to serve his expanding musical needs. Rosen writes, "In any case, uninflected standard indications—simple Andantes or Allegros and so forth—are relatively infrequent in his [Beethoven's] works compared to the practice of other composers: he tended to privilege more complex directions, like *Allegro vivace e con brio*, *Andante molto moto*."[153] When the metronome was invented, Beethoven turned his attention to this newly-invented device. In a letter written to Ignaz Franz, Edler von Mosel in 1817, Beethoven expressed his thoughts regarding to the tempo indications,

> [W]hat can be more absurd than Allegro, which really signifies *merry*, and how very far removed we often are from the idea of that tempo… But the words describing the character of the composition are a different matter. We cannot give these up. Indeed the tempo is more like the body, *but these certainly refer to the spirit of the composition*—As for me, I have long been thinking of abandoning those absurd descriptive terms, Allegro, Andante, Adagio, Presto; and Maelzel's metronome affords us the best opportunity of doing so.[154]

Beethoven indeed started to apply more descriptive words or metronome markings to indicate the tempo in some of his later works.[155] One can see in Opus 101, Beethoven used descriptive German words to indicate the mood and character for the three movements respectively: "*Etwas lebhaft und mit der innigsten Empfindung*;" "*Lebhaft, Marschmässig*;" "*Langsam und sehnsuchtsvoll -- Geschwind, doch nicht zu*

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[152] Sandra Rosenblum, "Two Sets of Unexplored Metronome Marks for Beethoven's Piano Sonatas," *Early Music*, 16 (1988), 59.
[153] Rosen, *Piano Sonatas*, 80.
[154] Anderson, *Letters*, 727.
[155] However, among the thirty-two piano sonatas, Beethoven only applied the metronome markings to op. 106.

sehr und mit Entschlossenheit" along with customary Italian tempo markings (*Allegretto, ma non troppo*; *Vivace alla Marcia*; *Adagio, ma non troppo, con affetto* -- *Allegro*) as in the sonata Opus 81a.[156]

Czerny left two sets of metronome markings for each of Beethoven's piano sonatas; one for his Pianoforte-Schule (1846), another for the Simrock edition of the sonatas (1856-68). These two sets of metronome markings provided by Czerny are slightly different. He restudied the works and offered new suggestions in the latter edition.[157]

Liszt, in his edition, suggests metronome markings for all the movements of Opus 101. The following table compiles the metronome markings that were used in the two Czerny, Liszt, and Bülow-Lebert editions:

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[156] The following English translation are adopted from Martin Cooper, *Beethoven: The Last Decade*, (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 148 and Rosen, *Piano Sonatas*, 215 and my own translation. Rather lively and with the profoundest sensibility; [lively, marching]; slow and full of yearning -- Fast, but not too fast, and with decision.

[157] Sandra Rosenblum studied on these two sets of metronome markings by Carl Czerny in great detail. Her study formed the backbone of my temporal discussion in this treatise. See "Unexplored Metronome Marks," 58-71.

Table 2 Tempo markings of Opus 101

First movement: Allegretto, ma non troppo	
Czerny: Pianoforte-Schule	♩. = 72
Czerny: Simrock edition	♩. = 72
Liszt edition	♩. = 80
Von Bülow-Lebert edition	♩. = 69 - 76
Second movement: Vivace alla Marcia	
Czerny: Pianoforte-Schule	♩ = 76
Czerny: Simrock edition	♩ = 66
Liszt edition	♩ = 72
Von Bülow-Lebert edition	♩ = 80
Third movement: Adagio, ma non troppo, can affetto—Allegro	
Czerny: Pianoforte-Schule	♪ = 60 -- ♩ = 132
Czerny: Simrock edition	♪ = 60 -- ♩ = 132
Liszt edition	♪ = 58 -- ♩ = 120
Von Bülow-Lebert edition	♪ = 58 -- ♩ = 120

According to the table above, Liszt's metronome markings do not contain significant differences from Czerny's markings except the Allegro (fugue) section of the last movement. Liszt's tempo is almost 10% slower than Czerny's. Von Bülow's edition bears the same metronome markings as Liszt's. Accordingly, we can assume that this might be the tempo Liszt preferred for this movement.

It is a surprise to see that Liszt performed the Allegro section of the finale slower, which seems to conflict with his virtuosic performance style. It may reflect a different perception of the tempo *Allegro* towards the mid-nineteenth century. Or, as Schindler once argued, Maelzel made different models of metronomes for his clients, which may be

the cause of different metronome readings.[158] It may as well be Liszt's belief that the slower tempo would present the music much effectively.

The most prominent differences in the following two movements found in the Henle and Liszt editions are the articulation markings. Liszt's edition gives much clearer and more consistent articulation instructions than the Henle. These additional articulation markings help give the music much more distinct character in both movements.

Mm. 55-64 in the second movement are not repeated in the Liszt edition (example 25). This might be a result of the engraver's negligence. However, if we turn to von Bülow's edition, one can, too, find the repeats are omitted (example 26). This finding may be more than just a coincidence. As Walker stated, "Enshrined within Bülow's own edition of the sonatas are many of Liszt's ideas, and it remains one of the best sources for knowing how he may have played these pieces."[159] Accordingly, von Bülow's edition is the extension of Liszt's edition. It reflects Liszt's teaching and performance of the sonatas. Therefore, if the repeats are also missing in von Bülow's edition, then Liszt probably performed and taught this passage without repeating. Beethoven might not have produced a complete correction list of this work. All we have are the composer's requests to different publishers for corrections.[160] Unfortunately, Beethoven did not mention anything regarding the missing repeat signs. It would be difficult to investigate how this error might have occurred.

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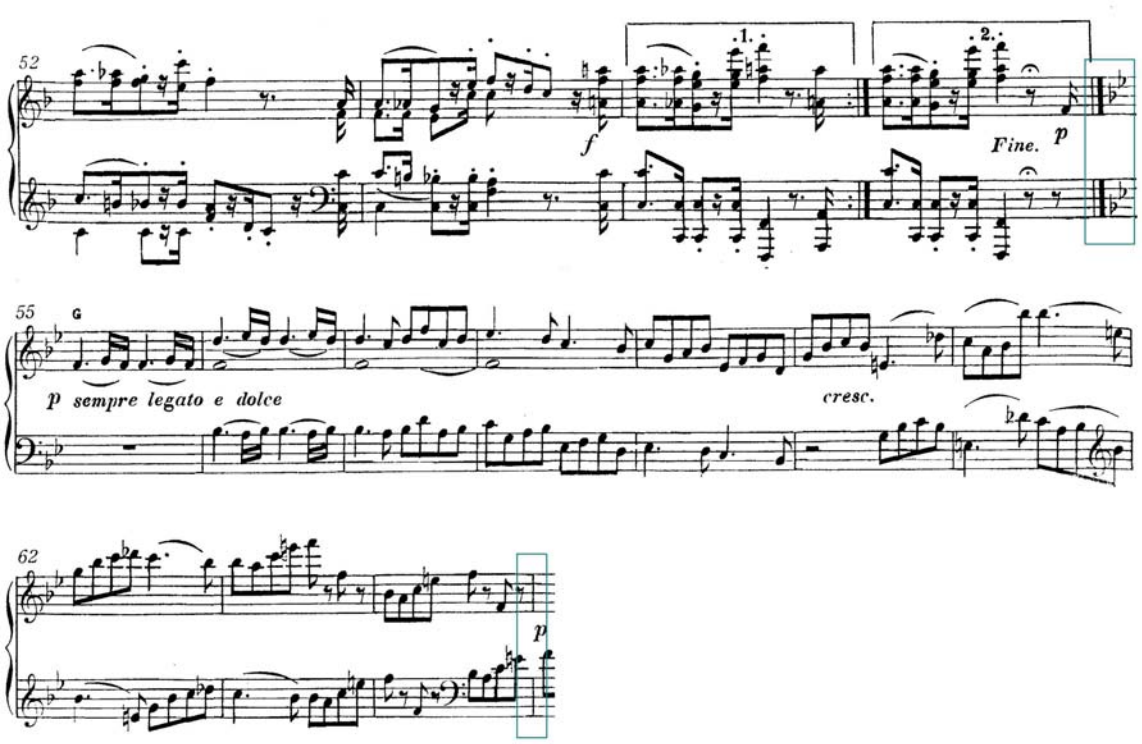
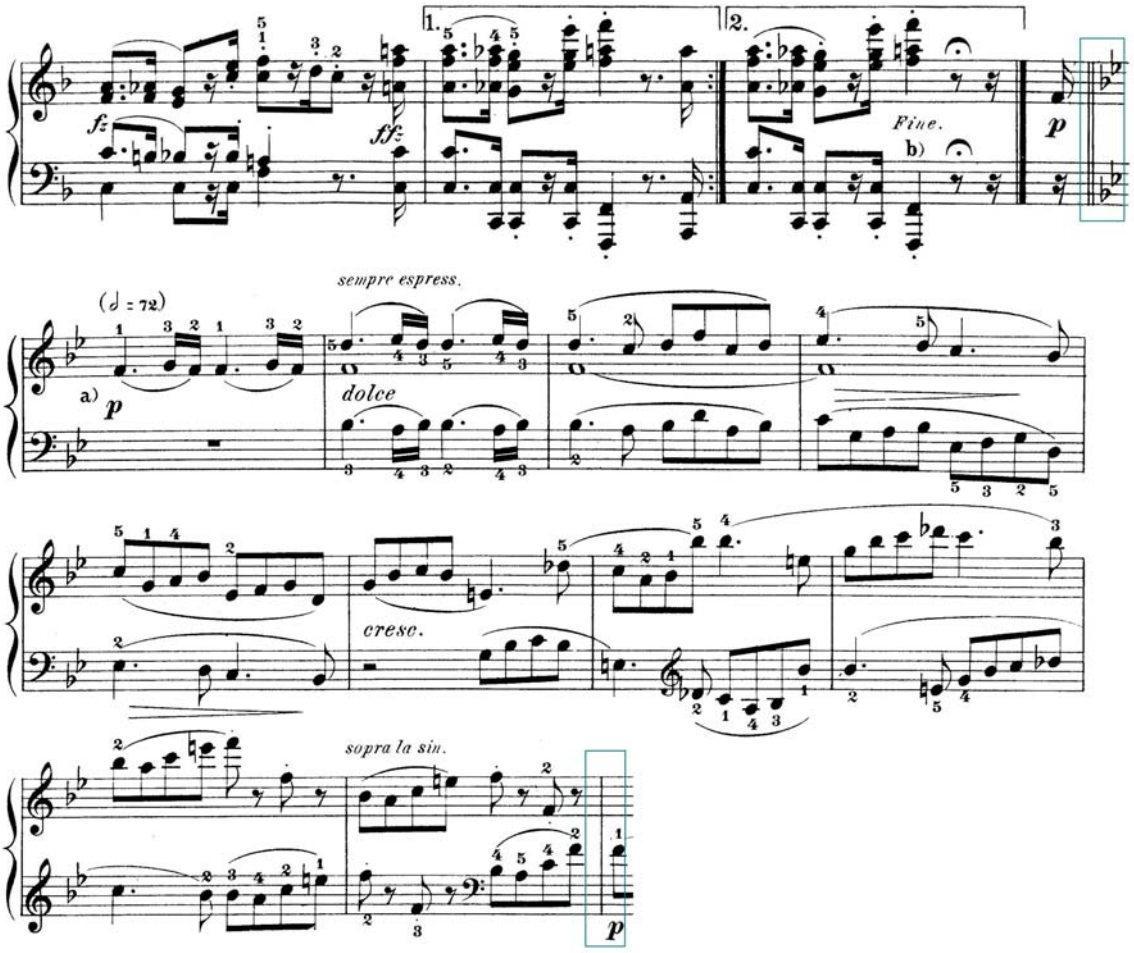
158 Kenneth Drake, *The Sonatas of Beethoven*, ed. by Frank S. Stillings (Cincinnati: Music Teachers National Association, 1972), 34.
159 Walker, *Reflections*, 177.
160 Anderson, *Letters*, II: 659-661.

Example 25



Opus 101, 2nd movement, mm. 52-64, Liszt edition

Example 26



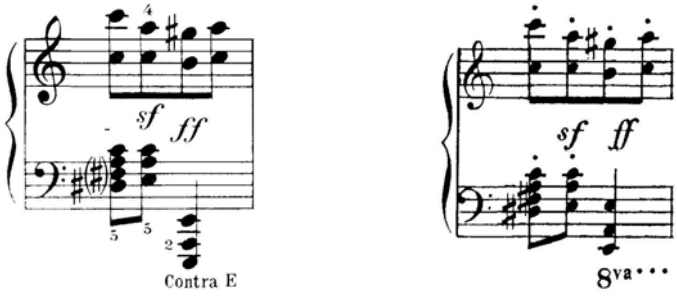
Opus 101, 2nd movement, mm. 53-64, von Bülow edition

As mentioned earlier, the piano underwent rapid changes during Beethoven's lifetime. Beethoven liked to test the limits of the instrument.[161] E_1 was first introduced by Beethoven in the third movement of Opus 101. He requested the name of the note should be added as it shown in the Henle edition.[162] The passage is engraved differently

161 Rosen, *Piano Sonatas*, 117.
162 Anderson, *Letters*, II: 661.

in the Liszt edition. The engravers placed the notes in a higher register and then added an *ottava* sign (8va) beneath the passage (example 27) and the notes are not named.

Example 27



Henle edition Liszt edition

Opus 101, 3rd movement, m. 223

PIANO SONATA NO. 29 IN B-FLAT MAJOR OPUS 106

Opus 106 is probably one of the most challenging piano compositions that has ever been composed. According to Nicholas Marston, "It is by far the longest (at the time, in fact, it was probably the longest sonata ever written); the most 'obsessively concentrated,' a work of an 'extreme character'; and yet other features, such as its traditional four-movement layout, have been regarded as 'reactionary.'"[163] The original edition was published by Artaria in 1819 in German and French versions.[164] Several months later, the London edition was published by The Regent's Harmonic Institution. Beethoven seemed to provide a correction list to both publishers for this work. According to Newman, "the English edition has some better readings of its own, perhaps including a few afterthoughts Beethoven had entered in the second source copy, made for

[163] Nicholas Marston, "Approaching the Sketches for Beethoven's 'Hammerklavier' Sonata," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 44 (1991), 404.
[164] Kinsky, *Das Werk*, 292-4.

Ries."[165] Fortuitously, part of the correction list that Beethoven sent to Ferdinand Ries in preparation for the London edition is still available for study.[166]

It may be the longest correction list Beethoven ever provided for any of his works. There are over one hundred errors listed. Most of them are requests for adding or removing additional accidentals from the plate. Liszt might have consulted with the London edition of Opus 106 in preparation for his edition. The errors reflected in the errata sheet that Beethoven made and sent to Ries are mostly corrected in his edition, though numerous discrepancies still can be found in Liszt's edition in comparison to the Henle. Among those, the most significant one lies in the last movement.

For the finale, a slow modulating introduction leads to a massive, three-voice fugue. One can find misplacements of the change of key signatures throughout the movement. As shown in the following examples, there are as many as five discrepancies regarding the key signatures. First, the modulating slow introduction begins with the F major key signature and then later changes to B-flat major in the Henle edition. However, in Liszt's edition, the melody is introduced under a B-flat major key signature from the beginning (example 28). Later on, the key signature of A major is introduced half way through m. 9 in the Liszt's edition while it is inserted at the beginning of m. 9 in the Henle edition (example 29). As shown in example 30, the A-flat major and E-flat minor key signatures enter respectively in mm. 56 and 86. They are inserted earlier in mm. 53 and 85 in the Henle edition. An additional D-flat major signature is introduced in m. 145 in the Liszt edition (example 31). However, one can not find the same arrangement in the Henle edition, in which the A-flat major key signature is retained from m. 124 and changes to B minor key signature in m. 150. The

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[165] William Newman, "On the Problem of Determining Beethoven's Most Authoritative Lifetime Editions," *Beiträge zur Beethoven-Bibliographie*, ed. by Kurt Dorfmüller (Munich: Henle, 1978), 132-5.
[166] Anderson, Letters, II: 797-806.

key signature of D-flat major is never introduced.

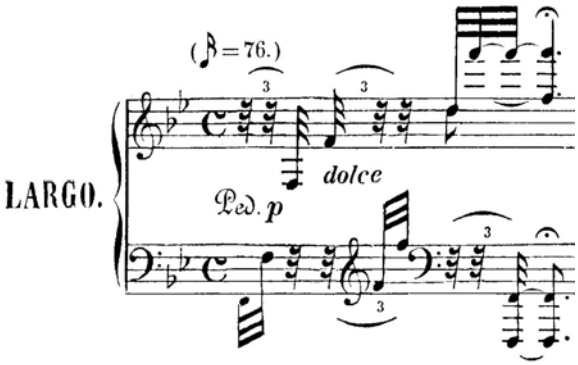
Another minor temporal suggestion that Liszt provided may be worth mentioning here. Opus 106 is the only piano sonata that bears Beethoven's metronome markings. According to Rosen, the metronome markings indicated by Beethoven are problematic "due to the unnatural reverence accorded the work."[167] Numerous sets of adjusted metronome markings are suggested by the scholars and pianists who studied the composition thoroughly. In his edition, Liszt employed Beethoven's metronome markings except in the third movement. Beethoven applied  =92 to the movement in his supplement instructions to Ries. Rosen thought Beethoven's metronome marking "has often seemed too fast for the movement" and might be "constraining" with the character of the music.[168] Liszt's slower tempo ( =84) is a possible solution to Rosen's concern.

The *Hammerklavier* sonata had a great impact on Liszt's career. The piece is both musically and physically demanding and was considered "unplayable" at the time. It still poses as a challenge to the modern-day pianist. Rosen said, "It has come to seem more like a monument to be admired than a work to be enjoyed."[169] Liszt's performance of this massive composition elevated his performing career to another level. By examining his editing, one might see Liszt's understanding of this "monumental" work. First, Beethoven did not mention anything regarding the placements of the key signature in his correction list. None of these discrepancies can be found in von Bülow's edition, either. Furthermore, regardless of Beethoven's markings, Liszt gave the third movement a slower tempo. Von Bülow noted in his edition, "on very sonorous

167 Rosen, *Companion*, 218.
168 Ibid., 225.
169 Ibid., 218.

pianos the tempo may be taken still slower."[170] This may be the reason for Liszt's suggestion. It more or less illustrates Liszt's knowledge of the work as well as the instrument.

Example 28

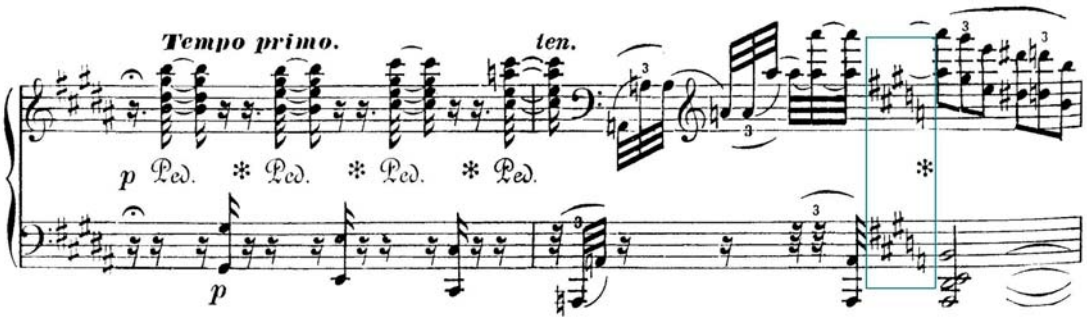


Opus 106, finale, Liszt edition.

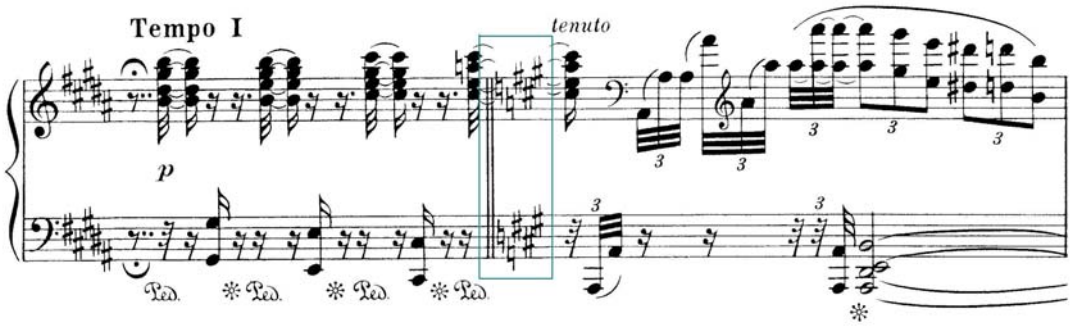
The Largo introduction starts in B-flat major.

[170] *Beethoven Sonatas for the Piano*, ed. by Hans von Bülow and Sigmund Lebert, 2 vols. (New York, London: G. Schirmer, 1923), II: 582.

Example 29

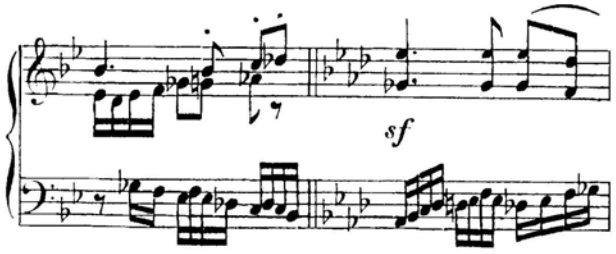


Opus 106, 4th movement, mm. 8-9, Liszt edition

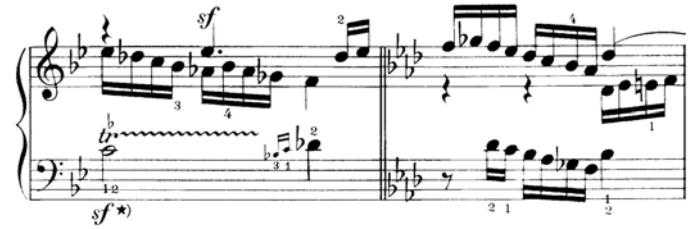


Opus 106, 4th movement, mm. 8-9, Henle edition

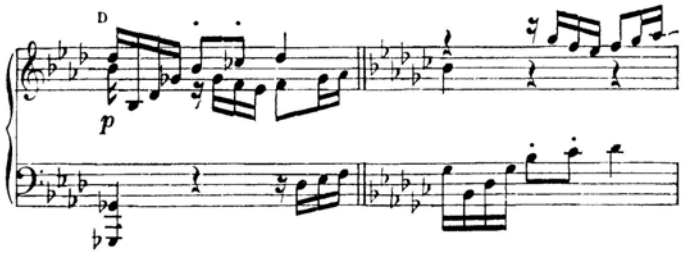
Example 30



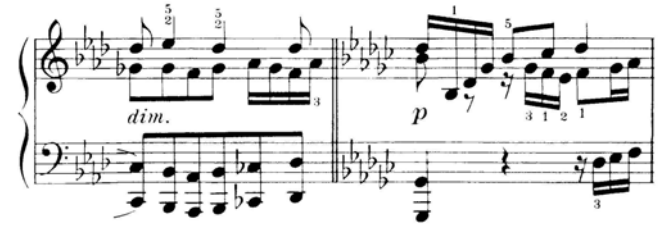
Opus 106, 4th movement, mm. 55-56, Liszt edition



Opus 106, 4th movement, mm. 52-53, Henle edition

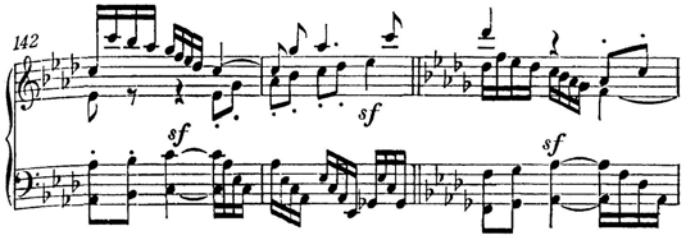


Opus 106, 4th movement, mm. 85-86, Liszt edition



Opus 106, 4th movement, mm. 84-85, Henle edition

Example 31



Opus 106, 4th movement, mm. 142-145, Liszt edition

PIANO SONATA NO. 30 IN E MAJOR OPUS 109

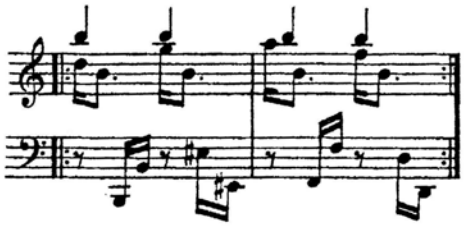
Beethoven's Opus 109 was first published in 1821 in Berlin. Beethoven was infuriated by the numerous errors in the proofs. He wrote to the publisher, Adolf Martin Schlesinger, and asked him to correct the mistakes.[171] However, Schlesinger had sent everything to the printer before he received Beethoven's corrections. Beethoven later learned about the unfortunate situation and wrote to Schlesinger again, now with an additional list of corrections that he seemed to have forgotten to include in the previous letter. In this letter, Beethoven advised Schlesinger "to dispatch this supplementary list (of mistakes) to all the places (to which you have set copies) and quickly too, with instructions to correct the copies in every respect with Indian ink and before they are distributed."[172] According to the list that Beethoven provided, there are seventeen errors.[173] Most of the mistakes still can be found in Liszt's edition.

Example 32 gives Beethoven's corrections to the first movement, mm. 42-43 of Opus 109 as taken from his letter. He points out that there are two entire measures missing from the score. Unfortunately, these two measures are still missing from Liszt's edition. Liszt's excerpt is shown in example 33 along with the corrected one taken from the Henle edition. As Newman laments, "Most publishers of that time would not even have presumed to correct obvious errors on their own."[174]

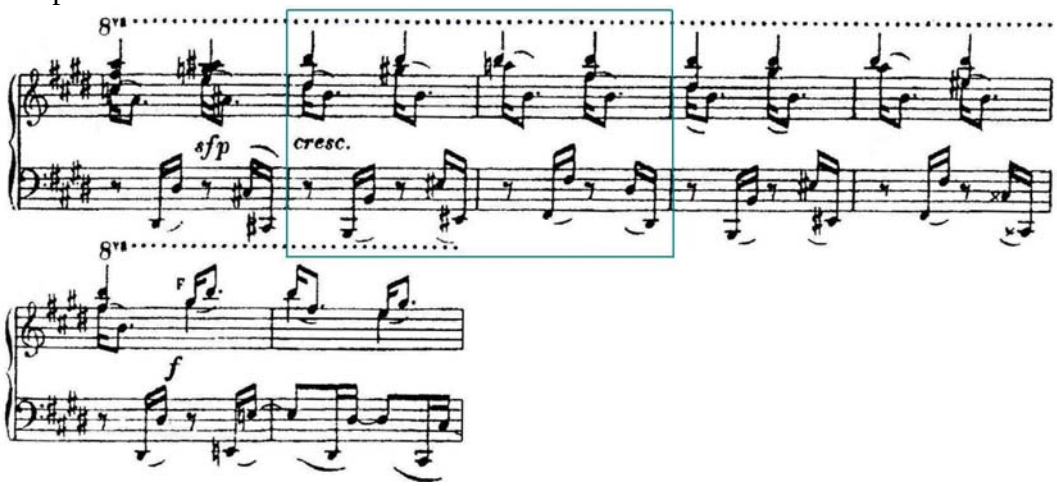
171 Anderson, *Letters*, II: 918.
172 Ibid., 927.
173 Ibid., 929.
174 Ibid., 506.

Example 32

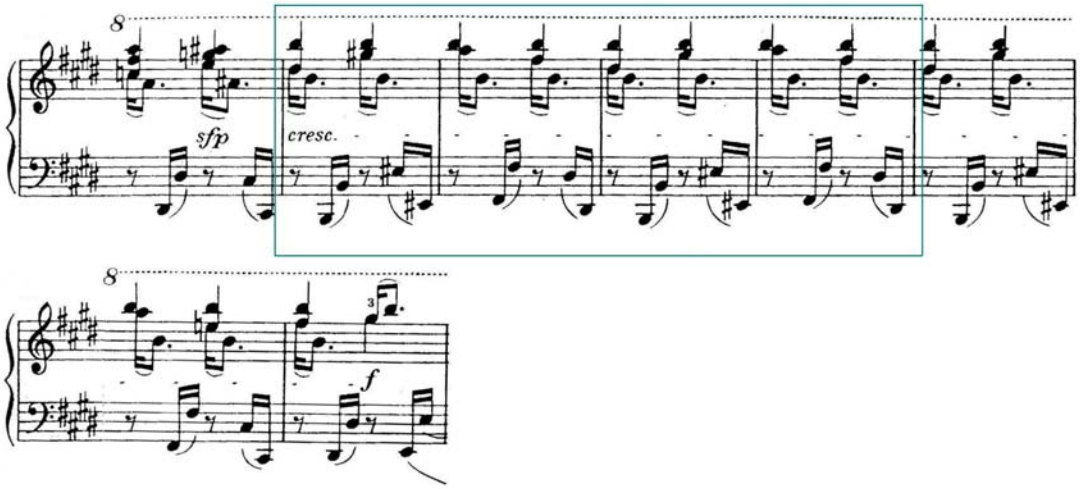
First movement. Bars 42 and 43. Both must be repeated, i.e.



Example 33



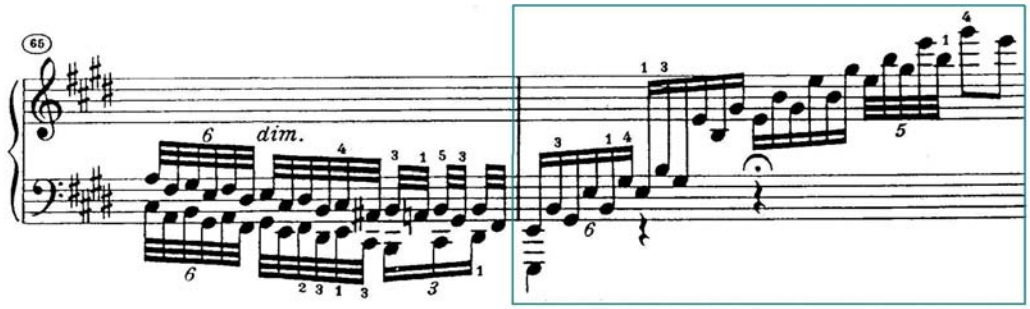
Opus 109, 1st movement, mm. 41-48, Liszt edition



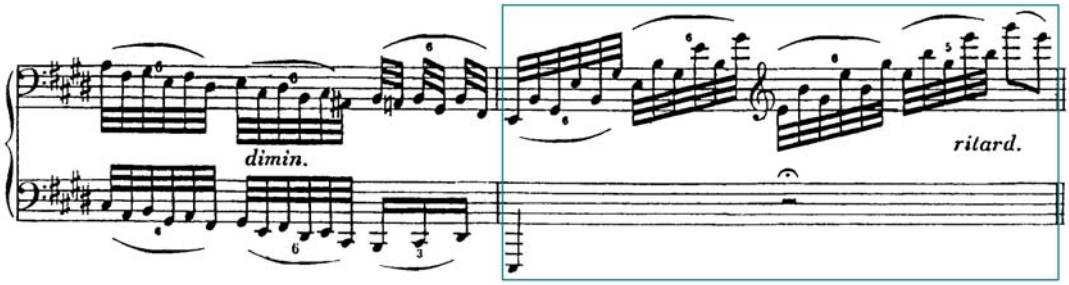
Opus 109, 1st movement, mm. 41-48, Henle edition

In the recapitulation, when the highly embellished *Adagio* leads to *Vivace* in m. 66, the rhythm of the ascending figuration is rather confusing hence various interpretation have been explored (example 34). Liszt modified the sixteenth notes to the thirty-second notes and the rhythm makes better sense.

Example 34



Opus 109, 1st movement, mm. 65-66, Henle edition

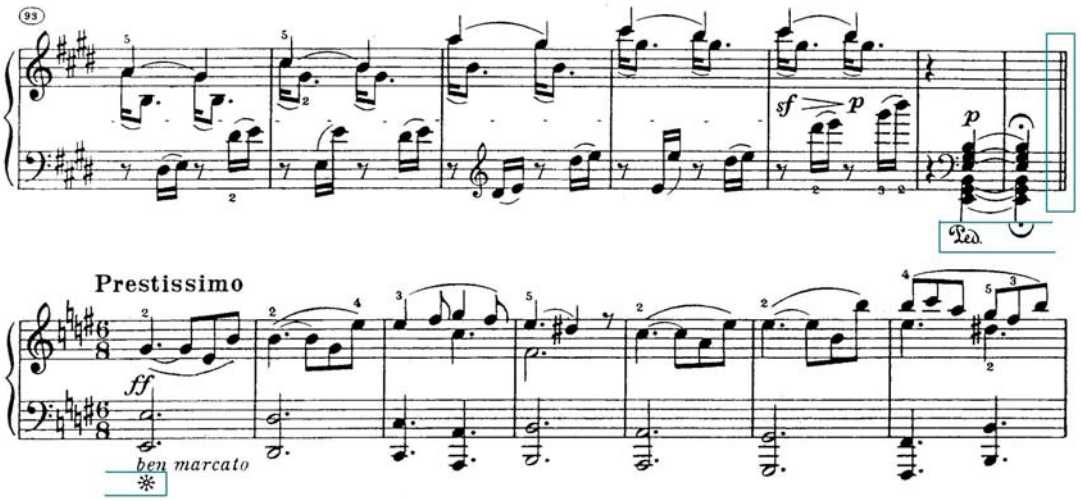


Opus 109, 1st movement, mm. 65-66, Liszt edition

As shown in the Henle edition in example 35, the pedal marking and the double barline suggest a continuous performance to the second movement without a pause (*attacca*). In Liszt's edition (example 36), the pedal marking does not suggest a continuation. No *attacca* was provided and the measure numbers are marked as in a new movement. However, the two movements are literally conjoined. We can observe a similar phenomenon in the last movement of Opus 110. As presented in the Henle

edition, the third movement of Opus 110 is led by a slow modulating introduction with Recitative (*Adagio ma non troppo*).[175] In the Liszt edition, a thick double barline was used at the end of the *Adagio* section suggesting a separate single structure; therefore, the following fugue seemingly becomes a fourth movement. However, the measure numbers are marked consecutively as in one movement (example 37).

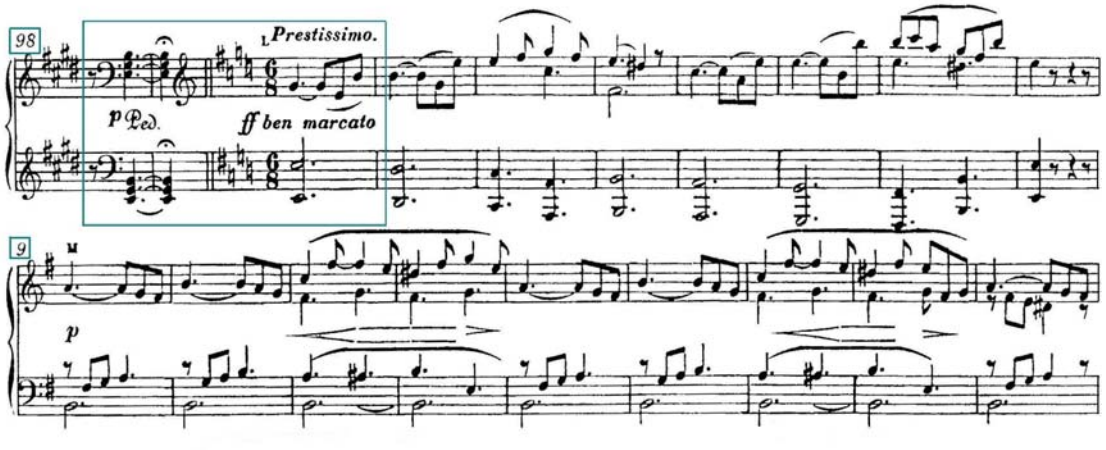
Example 35



Henle edition: Opus 109, 1st to 2nd movement

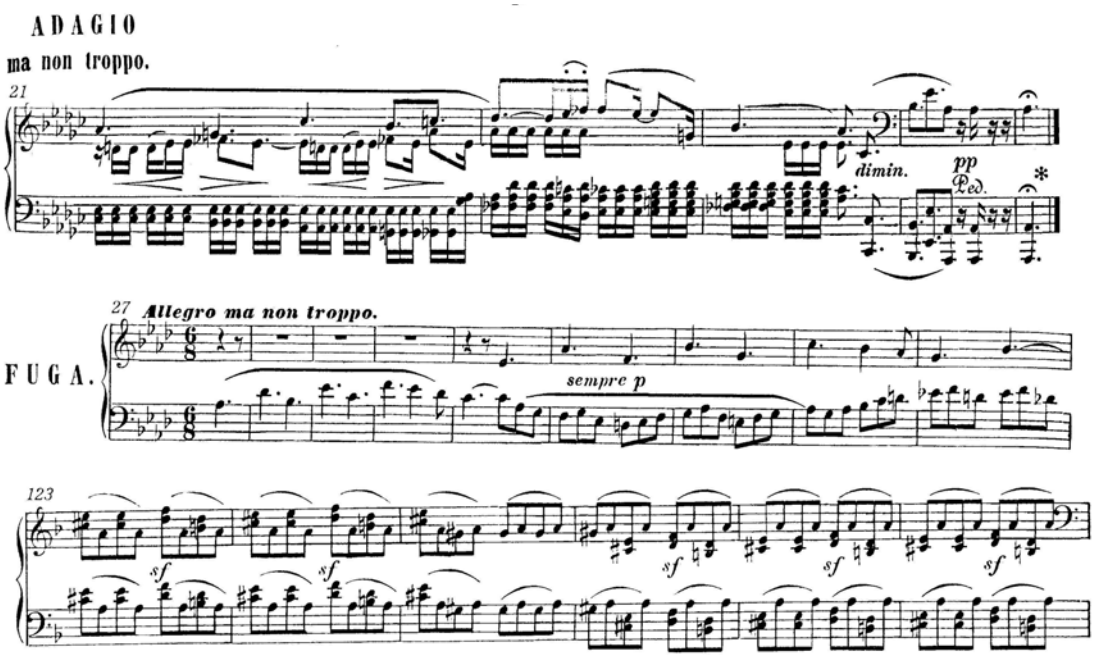
[175] Tovey, *Companion*, 262.

Example 36



Liszt edition: Opus 109, 1st to 2nd movements

Example 37



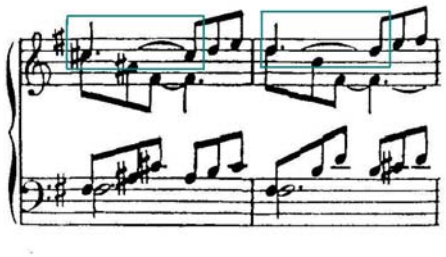
Opus 110, 3rd movement, Liszt edition

Syncopated rhythms pervade the second movement of Opus 109 creating an exciting, yet anxious, atmosphere. Beethoven had requested three corrections: add a tie over the F-sharps in the middle voice in m. 19 and remove the additional ties over the top voice in mm. 37 and 136-7. Example 38 shows the excerpts of mm. 37-38 and 136-137 taken from the Liszt and Henle editions respectively. One can see the additional tie on the dotted quarter notes over to the following eighth notes in Liszt's edition. The discrepancies do not seem like erroneous occurrences. Beethoven constantly switches back and forth between tie and repeated notes in the current movement. This might have been an innocent error caused by the composer's messy handwriting and the confused the engraver.

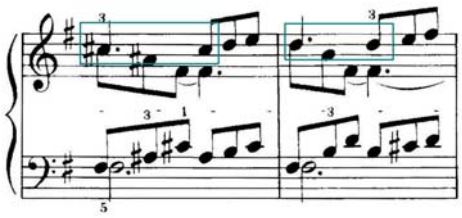
As shown in the Henle edition in example 39, Beethoven did not have any slurs over mm. 97-102 and this may suggest separate articulations. Liszt had a different idea. He modifies the articulation by adding additional slurs in mm. 99 and 101, which gives the music an interesting twist.

Example 38

Opus 109, 2nd movement, mm. 37-38, Exposition

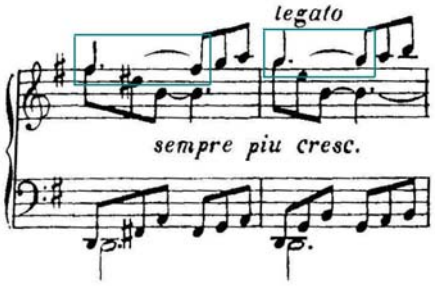


Liszt edition

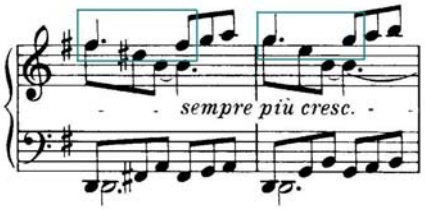


Henle edition

Opus 109, 2nd movement, mm. 136-137, Recapitulation

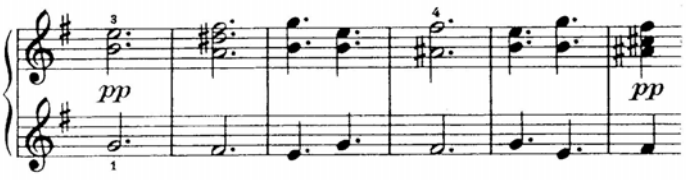


Liszt edition

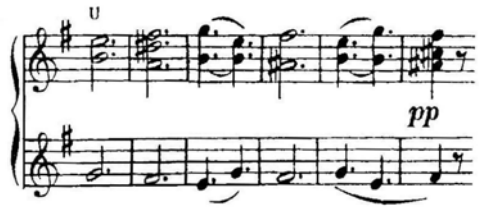


Henle edition

Example 39



Opus 109, 2nd movement, mm. 97-102, Henle edition

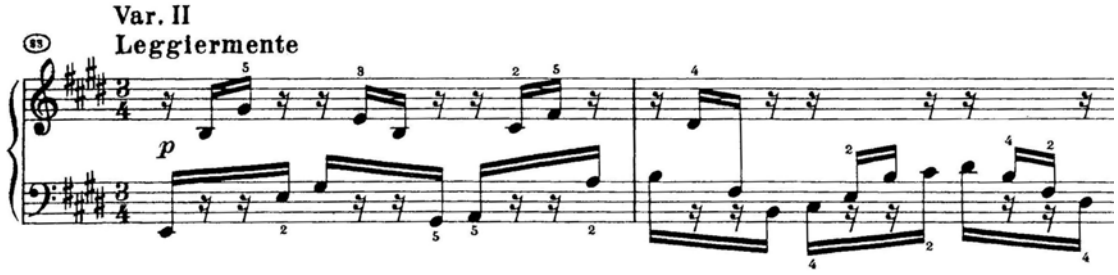


Opus 109, 2nd movement, mm. 97-102, Liszt edition

One can say the last movement receives the most attention from the two masters. In his correction list, Beethoven requested more corrections for this theme-and-variations movement—mostly correcting erroneous or missing notations. Liszt also edited this movement extensively. I will focus on the variations which contain the most significant changes.

Variation II is a double variation on two contrasting ideas.[176] The Henle edition, as shown in example 40, suggests an equal and non-legato articulation for the first theme. Liszt's intention is not clearly shown in his edition. He adds slurs for the first theme, however, only for one measure. There is no other further instruction. Did Liszt mean for the pianist to play the entire first theme with the articulation he provided in the first measure? In von Bülow's edition, Liszt's articulation is applied throughout the entire first theme (example 41). Therefore, since von Bülow had heard Liszt play, we might assume that Liszt wanted it this way in his edition.

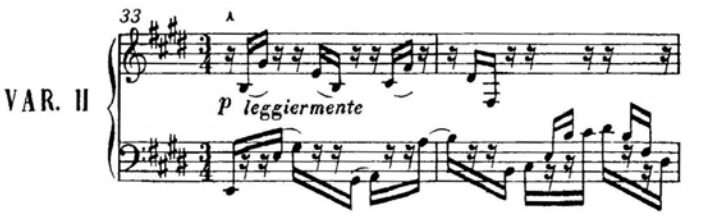
Example 40



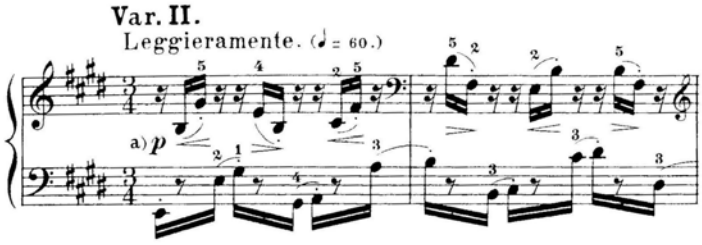
Opus 109, 3rd movement, mm. 33-34, Henle edition

[176] Ibid., 252.

Example 41



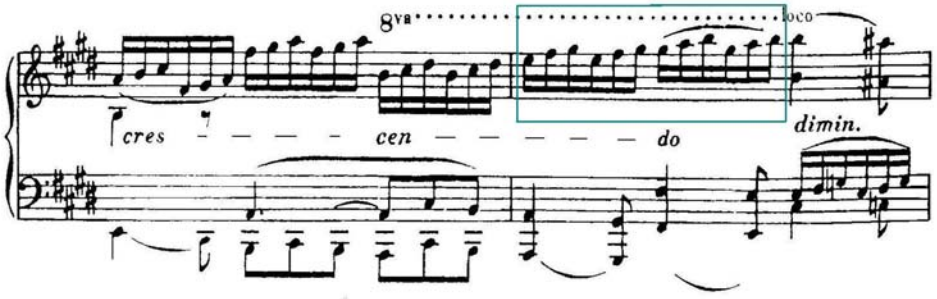
Opus 109, 3rd movement, mm. 33-34, Liszt edition



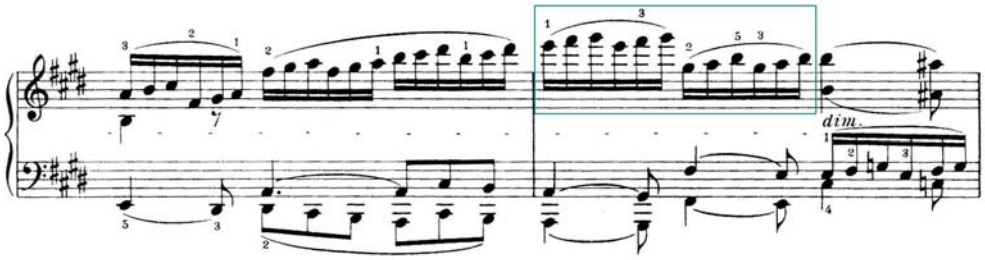
Opus 109, 3rd movement, mm. 33-34, Von Bülow-Lebert edition

Shown in example 42, in m. 103 (Var. IV) Liszt raises both groups of sixteenth notes up an octave while the second of the two groups is already *loco* in Henle. Von Bülow's edition is consistent with Liszt. This is probably how Liszt performed and taught this passage. He may have wanted to build up the tension and then release it suddenly without warning to favor his wider-ranged piano.

Example 42



Opus 109, 3rd movement, mm. 102-103, Liszt edition

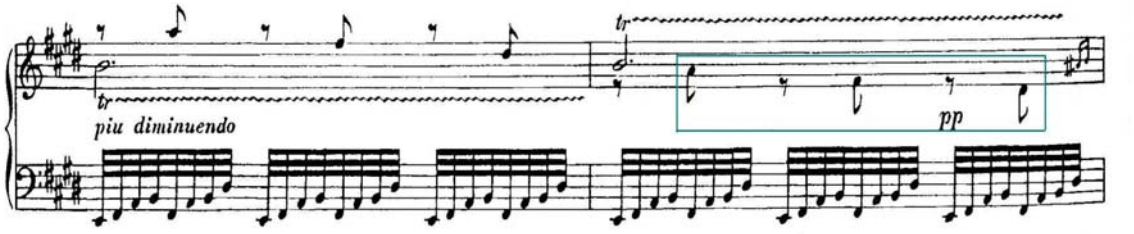


Opus 109, 3rd movement, mm. 102-103, Henle edition

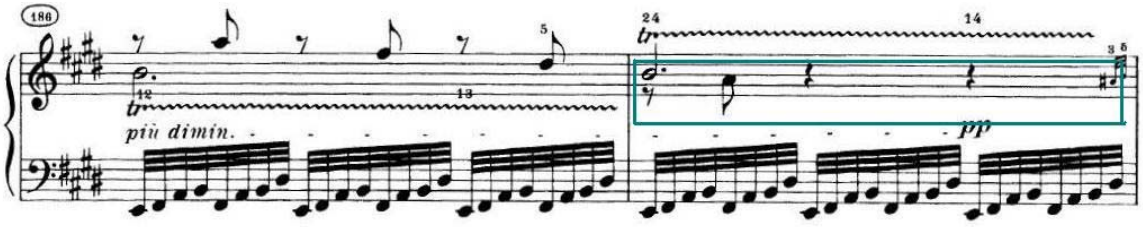
In the last variation, Beethoven seemingly leaves m. 187 incomplete and skips the expected F-sharp and D-sharp. Liszt fills in the missing F-sharp and D-sharp in a way that he felt Beethoven would have wanted (example 43). The modification has received concern and criticism that Beethoven's intricate musical design has been ruined. According to Walker, Tovey voices his "mild reproach against" Liszt's modification in his analysis of this particular passage by claiming "It is strange that so many commentators see no beauty in the effect of the crotchet rests that break off the syncopated arpeggio and give the note A the opportunity of sharing with the trill the function of leading to the first note of the theme instead of completing the chord."[177]

[177] Alan Walker, *Reflections on Liszt* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005), 178.

Example 43



Opus 109, 3rd movement, mm. 186-187, Liszt edition



Opus 109, 3rd movement, mm. 186-187, Henle edition

Authenticity and accuracy of printed music were not of great concern at the time. Barry Cooper's words sum up the situation that Beethoven faced: "The first editions themselves often contain many misprints. Sometimes Beethoven's corrections to the printed proofs were not fully incorporated into the first edition, and on occasion he was not even given an opportunity to proof-read at all before publication. Several of his letters include lists of errata for recently published works, for it was possible to amend the plates before reprinting, but the publishers rarely paid attention to these lists."[178] Liszt probably did not have full access (nor could we expect him) to consult with Beethoven's autographs and correspondence when he was editing the compositions. The concept of the "Urtext" edition was not invented and formalized until the 1950s.[179]

[178] Barry Cooper, "First Editions and Publishers," *The Beethoven Compendium* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 193.
[179] Newman, "Checklist," 507-8.

It is not unexpected to see the misprints still preserved in Liszt's edition. In addition to the unfortunate errors, Liszt offered several rhythmic and articulation suggestions for the sonata. These suggestions more or less help to clear up some of the musical confusions. They also provide us a valuable opportunity to study the virtuoso's approaches to the work.

PIANO SONATA NO. 31 IN A-FLAT MAJOR OPUS 110

Opera 110 and 111 were both published by the Schlesingers in Paris and Berlin in 1822. The publishing process of these two compositions was troublesome. Beethoven wrote a furious letter to the Parisian publisher, Moritz Schlesinger (A. M. Schlesinger's eldest son) on August 31, 1822 complaining of serious mistakes found in Opus 110 and demanding proof copies of Opus 111:

> In the sonata [Opus 110] sent here to Steiner there have still been found some mistakes of which you are being informed so that they may be corrected. And please send me first a proof copy of the c minor sonata [Opus 111] before you dispatch it. For it is very unpleasant for me if my works come out so full of mistakes.[180]

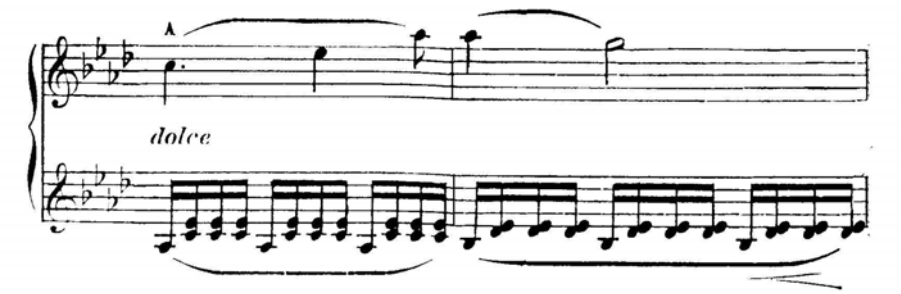
Beethoven spent a significant amount of effort getting his compositions published correctly. His correspondence with the publisher draws a picture of the difficult situation that Beethoven constantly encountered. The situation seemed to have frustrated Beethoven even more this time. Beethoven addressed Moritz Schlesinger rather severely at the end of the letter: "If you don't, I cannot promise you that the consequences will not be unpleasant." The Schlesingers probably did not correct the

[180] Anderson, *Letters*, II: 965.

mistakes as Beethoven demanded.[181] Later Beethoven wrote to Ferdinand Ries, "After all we both know what sort of people those worthy publishers are. They are the most barefaced blackguards."[182] Beethoven later republished a more accurate edition of these two piano sonatas with Cappi & Diabelli in Vienna in approximately 1823.[183]

Unfortunately, no errata sheet for Opus 110 by Beethoven has been found. Without a copy, it is impossible to know what the mistakes were in the Schlesinger edition and if they still appear in the Liszt edition. Liszt inserted additional slurs in the left hand in mm. 5–6 and applied additional musical terms in m. 44 in the first movement of this sonata.

Example 44



Opus 110, 1st movement, mm. 5-6, Liszt edition

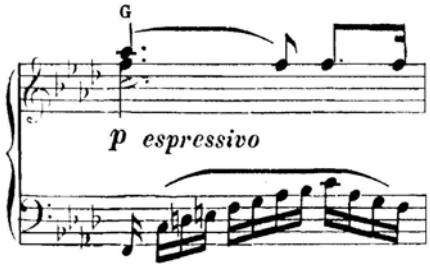
Additional slurs were added over the left hand in mm. 5–6 in example 44. They are believed to be added by Liszt himself along with the additional term *dolce* in the measure. As in the Henle edition, Beethoven only put the slurs in the right hand when

[181] It much more ironic to know that Moritz wrote to Beethoven in July, 1822 claiming "I consider it an obligation to ask you about this: since every masterwork must be published strictly according to the will of its creator." Theodore Albrecht, trans. and ed., *Letters to Beethoven*, 3 vols. (University of Nebraska Press, 1996), II: 218. Besides the erroneous musical notation, the title page of the edition did not appear in the way that Beethoven wanted. Anderson, *Letters*, II: 965.
[182] Anderson, *Letters*, III: 1027.
[183] Kinsky, *Das Werk*, 316 & 320.

the first theme starts. The slurs are omitted when the theme re-enters in the recapitulation in m. 63. However, Liszt still keeps the term *dolce* to indicate the change of the atmosphere.

Liszt also added an additional term *espressivo* in m. 44 (example 45). The term does not appear in the Henle edition. Beethoven's musical intention was already clearly presented on the page. He had written in slurs over the left hand, which suggest a connected, gentle articulation. Liszt's extra instruction reflects his interpretation of the music.

Example 45

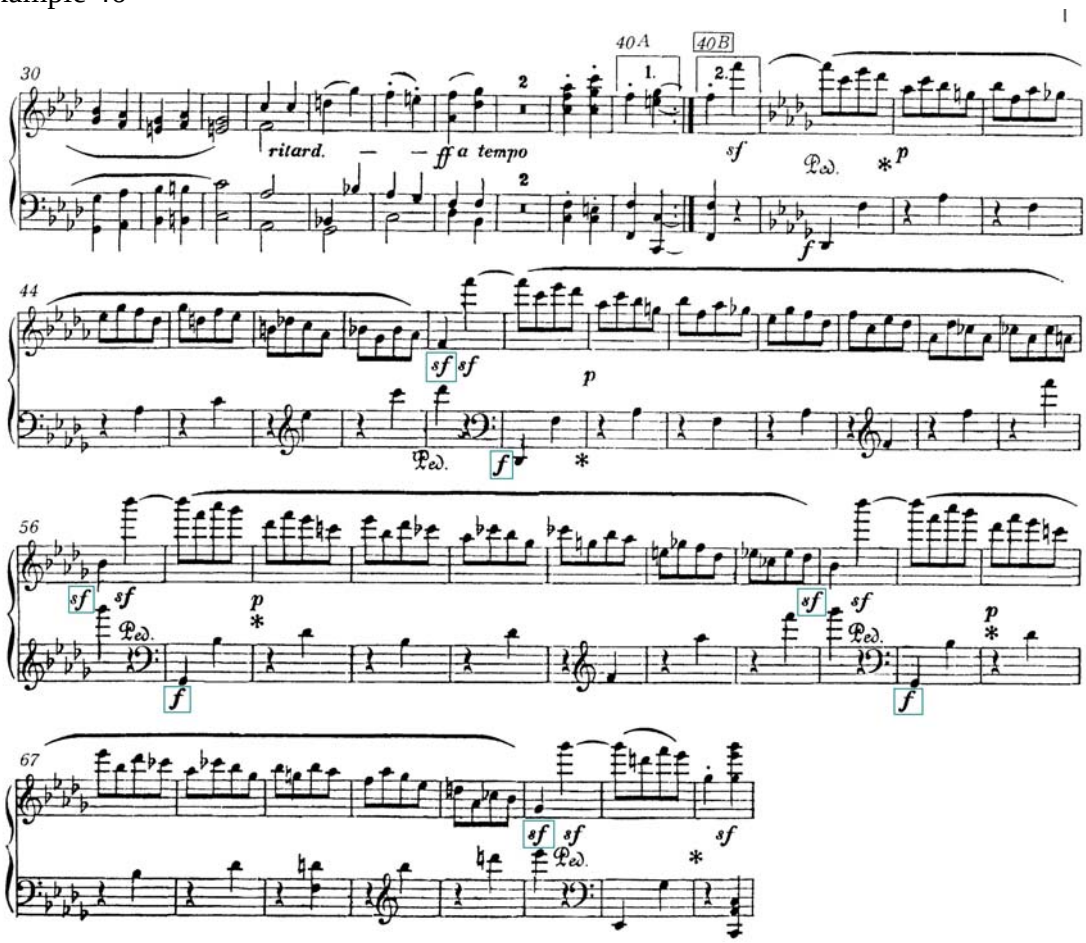


Opus 110, 1st movement, m. 44, Liszt edition

Liszt rearranges the dynamic markings in the middle movement. The following two examples (example 46) were both taken from the second movement of Opus 110 mm. 41–83 from the Liszt and Henle editions respectively. First, he replaces the *subito fortissimo* that Beethoven wrote with a *sforzando* in mm. 48, 56, 64, and 72. The dynamic range is now limited to *piano* rather than ranging from *piano* to *fortissimo* as shown in Henle edition (example 47). Beethoven wrote *fortissimo* in the bass in m. 49 to emphasize the two-note motive. The music is brought down to *piano* immediately in the next measure until *fortissimo* enters in m. 56. If we look at mm. 48-56 as one phrase, then mm. 56-64 and mm. 64-72 would be two sequential phrases. Beethoven, however,

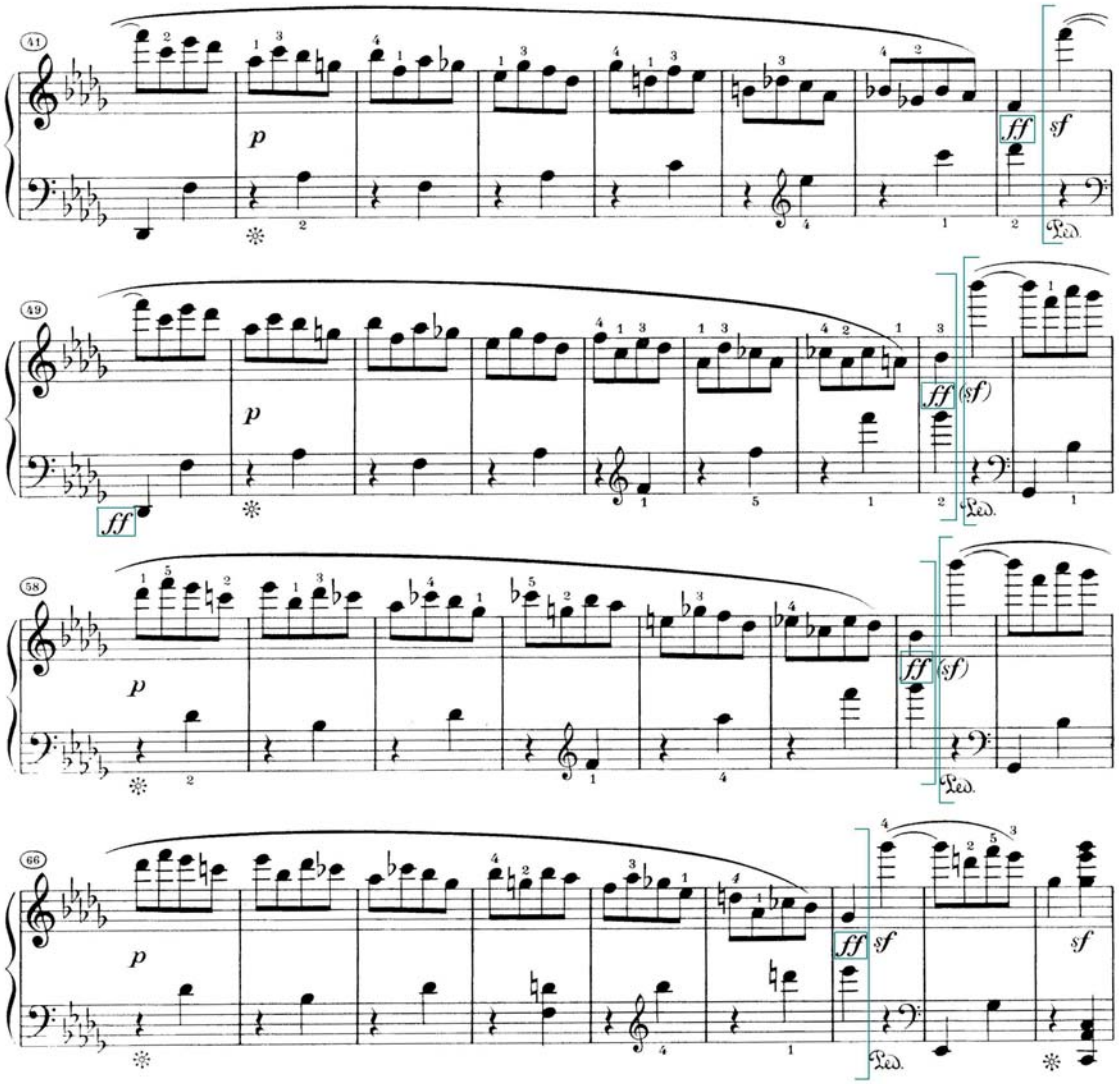
did not write *fortissimo* in the later two sequential passages as one would expect (mm. 57 and 65.) Liszt changes the *fortissimo* to *forte* in m. 49 to tone down the extreme dynamic contrast as Beethoven wrote and fills in the blanks in the subsequent passages. The additional dynamic markings suggested by Liszt help to make the phrase structure more clear.

Example 46



Opus 110, 2nd movement, mm. 30-74, Liszt edition

Example 47



Opus 110, 2nd movement, mm. 41-74, Henle edition

The third movement of Opus 110 is a large-scale fugue led by a passionate slow introduction. Liszt, without exception, applies additional markings above the staff to help reveal the structure of this masterwork. This time he uses two kinds of markings—letters and Arabic numerals. As shown in table 3, the letter markings coincide with the entries of the subject. Liszt did not apply any marks at the beginning of the fugue.

The first marking was written thirty-six measures later in m. 62. No letter markings can be found in the Development section (mm. 137–173). Instead, Liszt marks off the theme using the Arabic numbers and identifies the variations in German (table 4). Thus, the musical structure of this fugue is clearly presented.

Table 3 Liszt's letter markings of Opus 110, 3rd movement

A	m. 62	Top voice, dominant
B	m. 73	Bass, dominant of iii
C	m. 87	Middle voice, subdominant
D	m. 92	Top voice, tonic
E	m.101	Bass, dominant
F	m. 174	Bass, tonic
G	m. 184	Top voice, tonic
H	m. 200	Top voice, tonic

Table 4 Liszt's numeral markings of Opus 110, 3rd movement

1	m. 137	Theme in inversion / *Das Thema in der Gegenbewegung*
2	m. 152	Theme in diminution / *Das Thema in der Verkleinerung*
3	m. 153	Theme in augmentation / *Das Thema in der Vergrösserung*
4	m. 160	The theme is in diminution and augmentation combined / *Das Thema gleichzeitig in der Vergrösserung und Verkleinerung*
5	m. 168	Abridged double diminution of the theme / *Verkürzung und doppelte Verkleinerung des Themas*

PIANO SONATA NO. 32 IN C MINOR OPUS 111

One of the challenges that one might face when studying the sonata Opus 111 is the "multiplicity of conflicting authentic contemporary sources."[184] According to Kinsky-Halm, there were at least four first editions published in 1822-23, not to mention the reprints.[185] Beethoven, too, produced and sent out several correction lists of this work to respectively the copyist, Wenzel Schlemmer, and the publishers, Maurice Schlesinger in Paris and Anton Diabelli in Vienna.[186] Most of the corrections that Beethoven requested are repeated in both lists. Fortunately, the mistakes were all corrected in Liszt's edition. Liszt probably had referenced a revised edition of this work.

The most significant modifications one can find in the Liszt edition of the first movement of Opus 111 are articulation and dynamic markings. They do not only turn up the excitement of the music, but also highlight the intricate yet interlocking musical elements. For instance, additional staccato marks are added to the eighth notes written in the right hand in mm. 128-31, leading to a climax in m. 132 where an additional *fortissimo* has been added (example 48). Furthermore, Liszt wrote in three *sforzando*s in a row on m. 108 (example 49) to emphasize the repetition of mm. 100-104 in the key of D-flat major.

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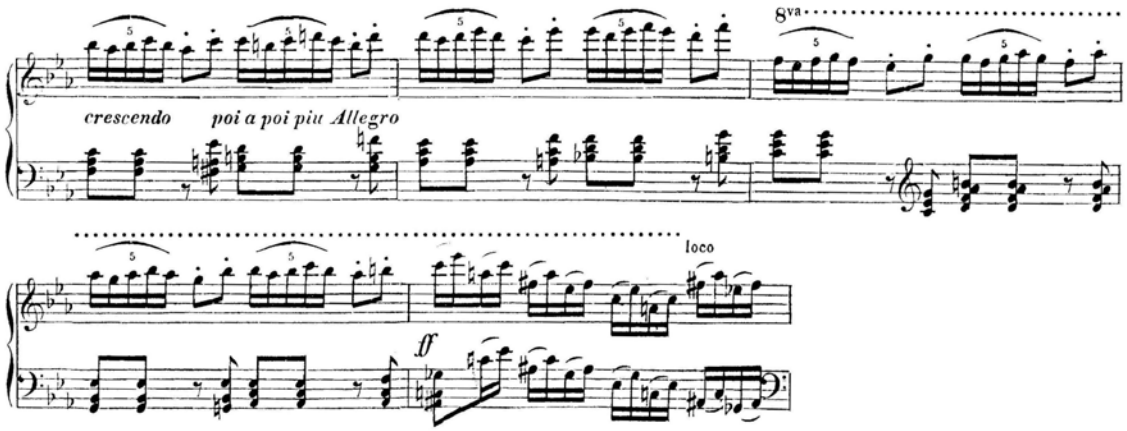
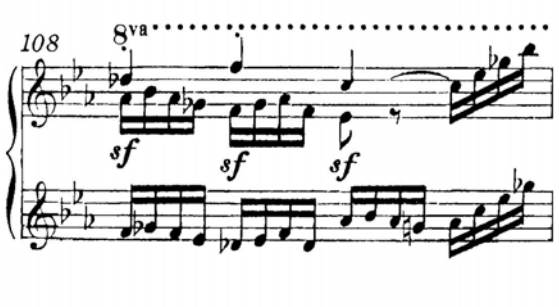
184 Charles Timbrell, "Notes on the Sources of Beethoven's Opus 111," *Music & Letters*, 58 (1977), 210.
185 Kinsky, *Das Werk*, 319-20.
186 *Ludwig van Beethoven: Briefwechsel Gesamtausgabe*, ed. by Sieghard Brandenburg, 7 vols., (München: Henle, 1996), V: 142-8. Beethoven did not enclose a correction list along with the letter to Diabelli. However, according to the content of the letter, Beethoven is going to send a new manuscript for Diabelli to check the plates before printing the work. Also see Anderson, *Letters*, III: 1045-8, 1051

Example 48



Opus 111, 1st movement, mm. 128-32, Liszt edition

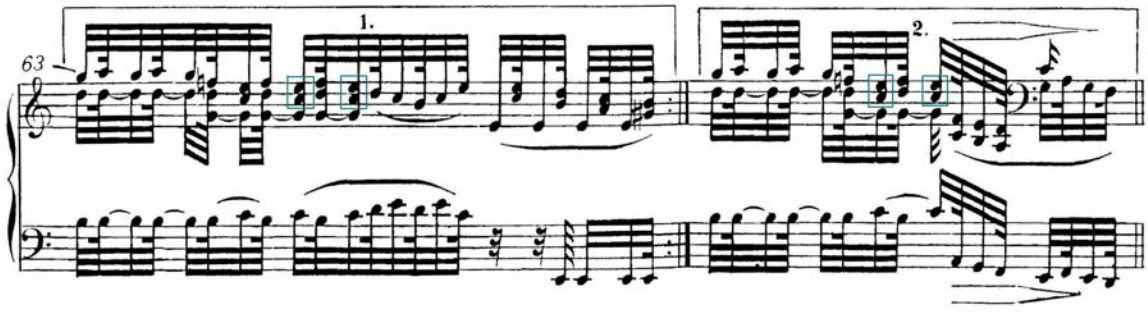
Example 49



Opus 111, 1st movement, m. 108, Liszt edition

Liszt makes several interesting modifications in the second movement. As shown in example 50, he added extra *C*s in the right hand in both repeats of m. 64. The additional *C*s double the middle *C*s in the left hand and fill in the blanks between the g^1 and e^2 in the right hand. Liszt probably changed them according to the same C major chord which was introduced earlier in the measure.

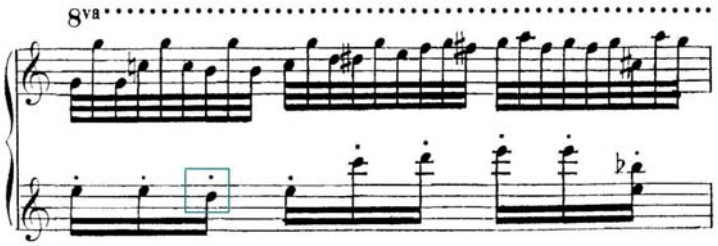
Example 50



Opus 111, 2nd movement, m. 64, Liszt edition

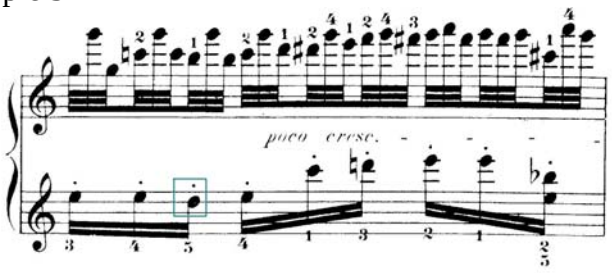
Another harmonic alteration Liszt made in this movement is in m. 77. Liszt changed the third e^2 in the left hand to d^2. The harmonic progression thus becomes a passage to the second inversion of V from the first inversion of I instead of the first inversion of iii as Beethoven originally intended (example 51). In other words, the chord that Liszt altered now serves as a passing tone between the two first inversion of I chords. Von Bülow also adopted the same idea in his edition (example 52). Liszt probably performed and taught the passage like this.

Example 51



Opus111, 2nd movement, m. 77, Liszt edition

Example 52



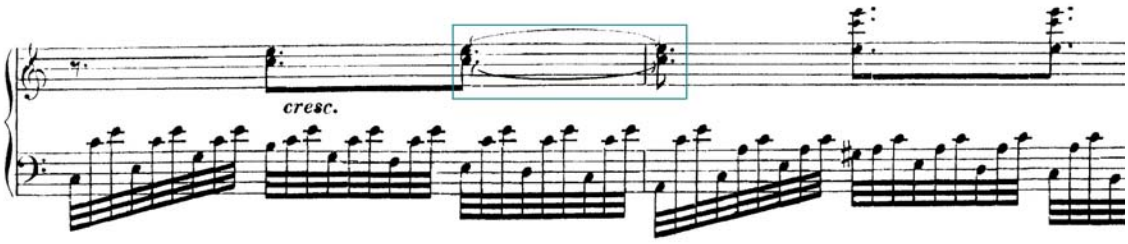
Opus111, 2nd movement, m. 77, Von Bülow edition

A tie is missing from m. 100 to m. 101 (example 53).[187] It may have been neglected by the engraver while engraving the plate. However, on the other hand, it could also be what Liszt intended. Von Bülow did not adopt Liszt's idea in his edition—the last note on m. 100 is tied to the first note on m. 101 as in the Henle edition, with an additional *tenuto* written over it. Yet Von Bülow's supported Liszt's adjustment by stating, "The true phrasing requires the tying of the last dotted eighth-note to the first in the next measure. But as the pedal cannot be used (on account of the change in the harmony), the repercussion of the tone is justifiable as necessitated by the anti-vocal nature of the pianoforte."[188] The different length of sustaining tone that every piano possesses was Von Bülow's concern. It might have been Liszt's concern as well when he decided to take out the tie at m. 100.

187 The reprint of Liszt's edition had amended the mistake.

188 Bülow, Sigmund Lebert ed., *Ludwig Van Beethoven Sonatas for the Piano*, II: 677.

Example 53



Opus 111, 2nd movement, m. 100-101, Liszt edition

SUMMARY

Like many other early editions, Liszt's edition contains numerous misprints. It is not reliable by our modern standards. Nevertheless, it offers a valuable opportunity to study those masterpieces through Liszt's eyes.

Liszt was one of the greatest pianists and a renowned piano teacher of his generation. Before he retired from the concert scene in 1847, he constantly toured Europe giving performances. Everywhere he went, he created a furor. Liszt was also a major promoter of Beethoven's piano sonatas. Beethoven's works, especially the late ones, were considered difficult and not pleasing to the concertgoers during the period. Liszt, by frequently performing Beethoven's works in his concerts, gradually shifted the public perception of Beethoven's music. His contribution can not be overlooked.

Liszt had successfully established himself as a Beethoven interpreter when the publisher Holle commissioned him to edit this edition. One can say this edition of Beethoven's piano sonatas is one of the products of his obsession with Beethoven. Through it, we can see his philosophy of teaching as well as his devotion to the master. More importantly, we can have, as Walker stated, "a glimpse of one great musical mind

coming to terms with another."[189]

Liszt was an improviser at heart. One can see the same improvising character in his own compositions. As a result, he published some of his compositions with several alternative versions. It would not seem out of ordinary for Liszt to provide alternative music in his editions of other composers' works. However, he leaves this Beethoven edition rather "untouched" in comparison to his editions of Chopin and Schubert's works. Liszt probably wanted to preserve Beethoven's original creativity as much as possible to show his reverence for the master.

However, Liszt's reverence for Beethoven did not spare him from being perfunctory. He simply handed the pre-existing editions of some early sonatas to the publisher to be republished under his name.[190] When examining the ten pieces in this chapter, one can find that the following three sonatas are relatively unedited: C-sharp minor sonata Opus 27 no. 2, D minor sonata Opus 31 no. 2, and F major sonata Opus 57.

Numerous discrepancies can be found in the Liszt's edition. Because we lack the knowledge of just what sources Liszt was using, it is difficult to determine their origin. Some perhaps pre-existed; others are Liszt's alterations. The alternations are primarily dynamic and articulation markings. Only a few instances are notational alterations. Liszt might believe the alterations he made were meant to better reveal what Beethoven would have intended. However, it is also possible that Liszt misinterpreted or attempted to regulate Beethoven's musical ideas. For instance, Liszt made a significant change in dynamic markings in the finale of the sonata Opus 31 no.2 and the second movement of Opus 110 (example 13, 44, and 47). Liszt offered his suggestions and integrated them into the music as if it were his own composition. Without his editorial statement, it

189 Walker, *Reflections*, 175.
190 Newman, "Interpreting," 202.

seems arbitrary to determine Liszt's intention of the music. However, knowing more about Liszt's psychological background can at least put some of these inexplicable decisions in a different light.

The edition served as a tool for Liszt to further elevate himself. It might, as well, have been used as a pedagogical tool for the virtuoso to introduce Beethoven's music to the vast public. Liszt carefully delineated various musical ideas with letter markings throughout the entire edition. As Walker states, "the practice may be one of the first attempts to provide some insight into the structure of these sonatas, many of which [especially the later ones] were regarded as problematic in Liszt's time."[191] The markings are certainly helpful to understand the pieces such as the massive fugal movement in Opus 110. However, Liszt did not apply the markings consistently. As shown in the last two movements of Opus 26, Liszt only marked off the parallel ideas once and left the others unmarked. They are probably self-explanatory. However, one may consider it as a sign of Liszt's inefficiency as an editor.

It is a shame that there is no recording of such a master pianist. His performance practice would have given us an opportunity to study Beethoven's piano music from a nineteenth-century point of view. Studying the music he edited may not be the same thing, but it does allow us a tiny echo of a lost sound world. We may never know what Beethoven wanted—but Liszt's edition gives us, if not the Grail, then at least one man's search for it.

[191] Ibid., 183.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

> Nothing is given to men on earth—struggle is built into the nature of life, and conflict is possible—the hero is the man who lets no obstacle prevent him from pursuing the value he has chosen.
>
> Andrew Bernstein (1949-)

The majority of the research that has been conducted regarding Liszt is mainly focused on "the external aspects," such as the "stylistic influence and aspects of performance traditions."[192] In this study, Liszt was placed in psychological, cultural, and historical context. He was a pianist with perfect pianistic execution and excellent musicianship. His stunning talent would have promised him a bright future. In fact, he had established a successful career at an early age. Yet he chose to attach himself to Beethoven and relied on the master's influence to succeed. Such devotion cannot merely be a simple admiration of the great composer.

The mythic *Weihekuss* illustrated Liszt's state of mind. This obsession with Beethoven remained one of the dominant features of Liszt's life and career. His relationship with Beethoven provides a unique perspective in which to re-examine both Liszt himself, and the reception of Beethoven's works in the early nineteenth century. Through it, one can see Liszt's growth as a musician and a supreme artist. As Keiler has stated, "It was his own growing musical maturity, the influence and contact with musicians like Berlioz and Urhan, and eventually the possibility of his own personal contribution to the memory of Beethoven and his music, that allowed Liszt to transform what might have been a psychologically disabling conflict into a therapeutic and beneficial mission in the service of musical tradition."[193]

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[192] Keiler, "Personal Myth," 116.
[193] Ibid., 131.

According to Keiler, Liszt's obsession with Beethoven is rooted in his intense relationship with his father, Adam. Liszt's musical relationship with Beethoven first started when he was a young child. His father, Adam, also his first music teacher, introduced the talented boy to Beethoven's music. Since then, under Adam's influence, the young boy idealized the great master and declared to be "such [a] one." Adam's high expectation for his talented son created ambivalent feelings on Liszt's part. The burden seemed to be too much to carry for one so young. So much so, Liszt did not visit his father's grave for many years.[194]

It was reasonable for Liszt to turn to Beethoven to look for recognition while he was no longer able to reach his father. We may be able to find inklings from the story that Liszt told Horowitz-Barnay about his meeting with Beethoven. There were three characters in the story: Beethoven, Czerny, and Liszt himself. His father, Adam, never participated in this remarkable event. Beethoven's kiss on the youngster's forehead was then subsequently transformed into a fatherly symbol and the foundation of Liszt's fantasy as "Beethoven's musical heir" and his devotion to the master.[195]

As an active concert pianist, Liszt frequently included Beethoven's music in his concert programs. Through his performances, he popularized Beethoven's piano works. Liszt successfully promoted himself as "Beethoven's musical heir" with the help of the young musical elite in Paris. The edition of Beethoven's complete piano sonatas is a lesser known publication of Liszt's. This edition is a physical offering that Liszt might have desired to present to Beethoven. In a sense, it is Liszt's final tribute to Beethoven—his eternal musical hero—but also reveals his constant disappointment in never having met the composer. By editing the sonatas, Liszt could imagine, even for

194 Ibid., 121-123.
195 Ibid., 130-131.

just a little while, sitting next to his mentor, his “father,” his hero.

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